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ABSTRACT

The nine conference papers presented in this report offer analyses of the German and American university systems and their interactions as well as discussions of significant issues in contemporary higher education generally. Papers were solicited from leading scholars on both sides of the Atlantic and assigned to four related categories. Two papers, "Historical Interaction between Higher Education in Germany and in the United States" by Dietrich Goldschmidt, and "Crossing the Boundary: German Refugee Scholars and the American Academic Tradition" by Karen J. Greenberg, explore the historical interaction between higher education in Germany and the United States over the past two centuries. Two papers highlight personal policy experience in trans-Atlantic cooperation and exchange. They are: "The Need for Trans-Atlantic Cooperation and Exchange of Concepts" by Elaine El-Khawas and "The Changing Framework of Trans-Atlantic University Interaction" by David C. Knapp. The research paradigm in both countries is explored in "The Impact of United States Higher Education on German Higher Education Reform and Innovation Debates" by Claudius Gellert. Henry Wasser, in "Comparing German and American Higher Education: Some Examples," compares German Fachhochschulen and American Community Colleges. A final group centers on study abroad programs: "Study Abroad: Students' Perceptions and Experiences" by Ulrich Teichler and "Student Exchange--A Case Study" by Barbara B. Burn. A final section summarizes the commentary and discussion given in response to each paper at the conference. Each paper cites several references. (JB)

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Ulrich Teichler
Henry Wasser
(eds.)

GERMAN AND AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

Mutual Influences – Past and Present

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Wissenschaftliches Zentrum
für Berufs- und Hochschulforschung
der Gesamthochschule Kassel

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Reihe WERKSTATTBERICHTE

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Henry Wasser
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Mutual Influences - Past and Present

WERKSTATTBERICHTE – BAND 36

Wissenschaftliches Zentrum
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1

Introduction

The complex relations between Germany and the United States need to be placed in perspective during this period when political, social, educational, and economical structures are rapidly changing. This conference was conceived as a result of the belief that scrutiny of the evolving symbiotic process between the two systems of higher education would be of considerable value both in comprehending the respective systems and in informing the larger context.

Consequently your editors set about to solicit papers from leading scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. It seemed logical to have four related categories in which the papers could be assigned. The first, of course, was the historical interaction between higher education in Germany and the United States in which German influence was most visible in the impact of the Humboldtian university and in the later transcendence of refugee scholars, mainly during the Nazi period, in American social science and the post World War II shaping of German higher education by American reform and mass higher education.

This led naturally to the second category in which the necessity for transatlantic cooperation and exchange of concepts between the two countries were discussed. Personal experience of policy makers was highlighted.

Proceeding in time, the third section concerned the special influence of American higher education on the reform and innovation debates that have been taking place in the Federal Republic of Germany during recent years. Access, graduate education, length of study, response to social need were among the topics analyzed.

The last category included analyses which constituted concrete applications of the preceding papers to study abroad programs. The U.S.-German exchange was demonstrated by presentation and interpretation of data acquired by a comprehensive commissioned study of the subject. The difficulties and benefits of such an exchange were outlined and debated.

While analysis of relations between two national systems of higher education can be problematic, the essays of this conference, the editors believe, show the significance of the comparison which may be an indicator, if not a guide, to significant issues in contemporary higher education generally. Certainly, the papers of this volume produced by German and American experts in higher education inform and enlighten us about the enduring inter-connections.

Dietrich Goldschmidt (Max Planck Institute, Berlin) discusses the mutual influence of higher education systems in the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany as part of a two hundred year old historical process. The narrative includes the favorable response in U.S.A. after Germany's national unification and rapid development, the breakdown of these favorable attitudes after the two World Wars in the decline of prestige of German scholarship and education. Subsequently German influence was re-established by thousands of intellectuals fleeing Nazi rule after 1933. In the ongoing exchange of ideas and experience U.S.A. plays the role of a world power preeminent in cultural and intellectual affairs while Germany is still feeling its way after assimilating ideas and considering models from U.S.A. German education today is still striving to strike a balance between worthy traditions and the need to adapt the system to modern requirements.

Concentrating on the post-1933 period, Karen Greenberg (Bard College) concludes that Americans appropriated German refugee whenever they could, as Americans. They sought to place refugees within their nation's intellectual context. The ensuing mixture of European philosophy and American empiricism was a subtle and intangible transfer of knowledge. The refugee scholars provided thereby a further chapter in a continuing story of American attempts to incorporate aspects of German academic tradition into its own academic setting. In doing so, they made for themselves and the tradition they represented a firm and lasting home.

Under the title Trans-Atlantic Interaction and Cooperation two papers were presented. David Knapp (University of Massachusetts) believes that academic institutions in both Germany and the United States are now closer to a position of academic parity than ever before, especially in science and technology. The stage is now set for a new priority in American-German university cooperation, "programmatic collaboration," enabling universities to develop and disseminate knowledge without regard for national boundaries. The German-American university linkage offers most fertile ground for making American universities think differently about their own intellectual roles.

Elaine El-Khawas (American Council of Education) finds that in the U.S.A. considerable dysfunction is evident in the lack of work preparation non-college going youth receive in direct contrast to the apprenticeship system in Germany

- 6.5 % of labor force in Germany, only 0.2 % in U.S.A. However, German universities are reluctant to adapt curriculum to career needs of students where American higher education offers more varied experiences with employment-oriented curricular adaptations.

Dialogue between German and American higher education systems will concern such matters as different leadership roles of elected German presidents and rectors and selected American presidents, and contrasting approaches to academic planning. Need is clear for creating a trans-Atlantic forum for mutual exploration of policy issues and collaborative trans-Atlantic study projects.

Turning to the issue of research, Claudius Gellert (University of Munich, on leave to European University Institute) declares that the U.S. paradigm became the predominant frame of experience for innovative research in Germany because of personal experiences of German academics and politicians in U.S.A. and because of the outstanding success in economic as well as scientific aspects of the American system. The German university system is still primarily characterized by historical features of Humboldtian concepts ("unity of research and teaching"). The American model of "research universities" is the constant frame of reference for German innovation debate. The notion of separate undergraduate and graduate levels of higher education as in U.S.A. is often discussed but not as yet practically introduced into German higher education. Slowly the Germans are becoming aware that functional difference in the overall higher education system i.e. between *Fachhochschulen* and universities, must be accompanied by quality and prestige differentials as in the American model and that the much larger degree of American institutional autonomy permits real modifications of the Humboldtian structures.

Henry Wasser (Center for European Studies, City University of New York) explores the mutual influences that may be formed in comparing German *Fachhochschulen* and American Community Colleges as to flexibility in planning, curriculum, function, transfer to universites and career objectives. Each may learn from the other by adapting a successful tactic from its counterpart such as the community involvement of the one and the respected civil servant status of the other.

The final grouping centers on the subject of Study Abroad - the German-United States Exchange. Ulrich Teichler (Comprehensive University of Kassel) raises and answers the following questions. How do students perceive U.S.A. and German higher ecuation? What are the experiences of students participating in study abroad programs and the impact of studying abroad for students from both American and German universities? How does the character of study abroad programs which reflect in some degree characteristics

of the respective higher education systems shape the experiences and impacts on students?

His collaborator Barbara Burn (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) notes that her survey of student exchange between the University of Massachusetts and nine universities in Baden-Wuerttemberg suggests the increasing importance to German and American students of improving their proficiency in English and German respectively. Overcrowding at German universities and shifting of research to institutes outside universities have attracted German students in the sciences to study in an American university with "hands on" research and access to the latest equipment. The increasing internationalization of higher education in the U.S.A. and the spectacular growth of ERASMUS are also noteworthy. These developments along with German unification and "Europe 1992" have encouraged "study abroad" generally.

The four categories in which the papers were presented - historical interaction, trans-Atlantic cooperation, the impact on reform and study abroad/ exchange - also include cogent remarks from designated commentators and selected comments from other conference participants.

Henry Wasser
Ulrich Teichler

2

Historical Interaction Between Higher Education in Germany and in the United States

by Dietrich Goldschmidt

1. Introduction

The influences of the sytems of higher education of the Federal Republic of Germany and of the United States of America on one another are part of a 200-year-old historical process. This process has consisted of the gradual emancipation of the United States from Europe, accompanied up to the First World War by a continuing reception and appropriate integration into American educational thought and practice of various impulses from Europe in such matters. These impulses came not least of all from Germany during and especially after Germany's national unification and rapid development. Both of the World Wars, however, served to break down the traditionally favorable American attitudes toward the German concept of academic education and the organization of German graduate studies. After the two World Wars, German education and scholarship lost the widespread prestige they had once enjoyed. Yet, in another sense, German influence was reestablished by the thousands of intellectuals fleeing Nazi rule in Germany after 1933 and later in the countries it occupied. The growing positive response to their arrival created an atmosphere that, in the long run, proved advantageous even to the sons and daughters of German-speaking Jews who earlier had emigrated to the United States from Central and Eastern Europe. The imprint all these men and women left on science and scholarship in the United States has done much to earn for

American higher education the high esteem it has come to enjoy internationally since the end of the Second World War.

On the other hand, in 19th century Germany, within the framework of a semifeudal political structure, there occurred a pronounced intellectual and cultural development that brought the German educational system a high degree of international respect until the outbreak of the First World War. Thereafter followed political and cultural catastrophes: the First World War, Nazi dictatorship, and the Second World War. In the Western parts of the country - the Federal Republic of Germany - the United States played a major role in recovery.

Today we are at the point where the one party to this ongoing exchange of ideas and experiences - the United States - has risen to world power and enjoys a preeminance in cultural and intellectual affairs to match this status, whereas the other party, the Federal Republic of Germany, is, in a manner of speaking, still feeling its way after a period of assimilating ideas and considering educational models "Made in USA." Far from serving as an example as it did in the 19th century, German education today is still striving to strike a balance between worthy traditions and the need to adapt the system to modern requirements.

The influence of the United States and Germany on each other have been both general and specific.

Cultural, intellectual and scientific experiences, insights, and stimuli have been carried personally in both directions by visitors, especially to the United States by immigrants. But they are also propagated through the printed word and the mass media. They are as general and comprehensive in their scope as they are diffuse, and they are so extensive that they can hardly be grasped in their entirety. Only the World Wars have interrupted this transfer, which is absolutely fundamental for the development of the individual academic disciplines.

More specific, and hence more easily grasped, are the impulses that go beyond stimulating or influencing the work of individuals and have an effect on the structuring of educational institutions. Each such impulse has its "historical moment", examples of which are the guiding influence of German models when American liberal arts colleges were expanded to universities in the second half of the 19th century and American influences on reeducation efforts in Germany after the Second World War.

In discussing the reciprocal influences of the United States and Germany, one must keep in mind certain general developments. At the beginning of the 19th century, the German states as well as the United States were in the process of consolidating themselves into nation-states. Travel between the two countries during this time was on the whole by individuals and free from politi-

cal considerations. As far as this travel concerned educational matters, an overview is relatively easy to obtain. Thanks to the progress in transportation technology (steamships began to cross the Atlantic in 1837) and to the growth of international and intercontinental commerce, the connections between the two emerging nations increased in number and in strength from the middle of the century on, but especially after each nation was united, the one in 1865 with the defeat of the South, and the other in 1871 with the founding of the German Reich. These points are the historical starting points of the following essay.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the United States and Imperial Germany encountered one another as great powers in competition for cultural prestige, economic power, and political dominance - a competition which was sharpened by German imperialist strivings and American aggressiveness in the international economy. Since the Second World War, the concentration of world political power around the Soviet Union in the East and the United States in the West has drawn the latter country and the Federal Republic closely together. Inexpensive mass travel has done its share to broaden the base of this bond. Despite periodic ups and downs, the two countries' mutual knowledge and interest have been intense in education, science, and scholarship, as well as in other areas. It should be clear, then, that as we come to the present, the more our remarks must be confined to indicating general trends, rather than showing specific ways in which the United States und the Federal Republic have influenced each other. Indeed, in view of the increasing specialization that has taken place in education and science, it is all the more necessary to treat progress in these fields of human endeavor on a global scale.

2. Relations in Higher Education, Science, and Scholarship up to 1914

The first American to visit a German university was Benjamin Franklin, who came to Göttingen in 1766. Up to around 1870, Göttingen headed the list of German universities visited by young Americans. Later, Berlin exerted a stronger pull. These early visiting students came for the most part from Harvard, Yale, and other Eastern colleges.

Looking back on his years as a student at Harvard College (1854-1858), Henry Adams recalled:

> "The literary world then agreed that truth survived in Germany alone, and Carlyle, Matthew Arnold, Renan, Emerson, with scores of popular followers, taught the German faith. ... The middle class had the power, and held its coal and iron well in hand, but the satirists and idealists seized the press, and as they were agreed that the Second Empire was a disgrace to France

> and a danger to England, they turned to Germany because at that moment Germany was neither economical nor military, and a hundred years behind western Europe in the simplicity of its standard. German thought, method, honesty, and even taste, became the standards of scholarship. Goethe was raised to the rank of Shakespeare - Kant ranked as a law-giver above Plato. All serious scholars were obliged to become German, for German thought was revolutionizing criticism."

Laurence R. Veysey, in his history of the American university, emphasizes "the lure of the German university" at the middle of the 19th century (Veysey, 1965, pp. 125, f.). The German university exercised its influence in various ways through its orientation toward idealist philosophy and its emphasis on the development of theory. Its greatest strength was seen in its use of the seminar in teaching and in the great importance it attached to research, i.e., to the rigorous and exact investigation of any given object of study. The work of men, such as the historian Leopold von Ranke, the physicist Hermann von Helmholtz, and the psychologist Wilhelm Wundt, set standards for modern research. It was probably at this time that the foundation was laid for modern empirical research, not only in the natural sciences but also in the humanities and social sciences. Such empirical research was subsequently developed further in the United States from where German psychological and social research picked up the thread after 1945.

Many professors in the American universities, including many of German origin, had studied in Germany, and many had obtained the doctoral degree there. At the same time, the number of American students visiting Germany markedly increased. The total number of students formally enrolled in the period from 1815 to 1870 has been estimated at around 640. Enrollments continued to grow, until by 1895-1896 about 450 Americans were registered in German universities and other institutions of higher education. Studying and passing an examination at a German university enhanced the visitor's prestige in his home country. Thereafter, the flow of American students to Germany diminished somewhat up to the First World War. In the winter semester of 1911-1912, there were 255 American students, including 32 women, at German universities. A stay in Germany had become more costly for Americans, while opportunities for graduate study in the United States had improved. At the same time, because of the rising standards of science and scholarship in the United States, Americans were noting more critically that German universities also had their drawbacks. Not all of them were centers of excellence; not all German professors were exemplary, meticulous researchers.

Taking the available statistics and estimates together, one can assume that from 1815 to 1916, a total of 6,000 to 9,000 Americans studied at German universities. There is only one item of statistical information on the number of

German students in the United States during this time. In the academic year 1911-1912, 143 Germans were studying at American universities.

Toward the end of the 19th century, for the first time in Germany a specific interest in American universities developed (von Brocke, 1981). Friedrich Althoff, the ministerial official responsible for Prussia's universities and the dominant figure in Prussian higher edcuation at the time, commissioned the economist and statistician Johannes Conrad to visit universities while on a trip to the United States in 1896. Upon the report's completion, he gave it wide publicity. It was also in this period that individual professors of German origin obtained respected positions in the United States. Hugo Muensterberg, a psychologist of German origin who had come to Havard in 1892, saw to it that almost 40 prestigious German scholars and scientists participated in the International Congress of Arts and Sciences held during the 1904 Universal Exposition in St. Louis. These men represented a broad spectrum of German learning, both in the variety of their fields and the number of universities they represented.

During this congress, proposals for a regular exchange of prominent professors between Havard and the University of Berlin as well as between the latter (in association with other German universities) and Columbia University were developed. The discussion of these proposals led to two formal agreements in 1905, on the basis of which the exchange was carried on until the outbreak of the First World War and then again from 1931 to 1933. Other American universities, including the University of Michigan, the University of California at Berkeley, and Cornell University, established guest professorships shortly before the First World War.

Even though the uncritical enthusiasm for German higher education and the direct institutional interest in German universities subsided in the United States from the turn of the century on, fundamental interest in the German philosophy of education and in the history of German education remained strong. The persisting interest in these topics is shown by, among other things, the intense discussion of the works of the educational theorist Friedrich Paulsen (1846-1908) and by the research of American scholars on the history of the German university in the 19th century (which still continues). Furthermore, in many disciplines an ever-closer connection was sought with European, and specifically German, science and scholarship. When the latter was regarded as preeminent in a particular field, the exchange of individual scholars and scientists was intensified.

The growing German commitment to this exchange was certainly furthered by encounters among individual scholars and scientists on both sides of the Atlantic. There was a decisive difference between the two academic systems: whereas in the United States the scientific impulse was combined with specific

ideas and organizational concepts through far-sighted university presidents, in the German context the decisive influence was wielded less by the university 'Rektor' and Senate than by the Prussian educational administration, most notably by Friedrich Althoff, its director from 1882 to 1907. Althoff, who in 1906 was awarded an honorary doctorate by Harvard, had an influence that cannot be underestimated. He recognized the importance of international academic exchanges as an instrument of 'Kulturpolitik'. The substance of 'Kulturpolitik' was that German science and scholarship were to provide criteria for making rational decisions and to point the way to new scientific advances. The intention was to enhance Germany's prestige throughout the world, although it was also recognized that the study of other countries would enrich the cultural life, politics, and economics of one's own country, Germany. Thus, in 1907, with the help of the Koppel Foundation, the *Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik* (International Weekly for Science, Scholarship, Art and Technology) was founded, and in 1910, the Amerika-Institut was established in association with the University of Berlin. Those involved in the planning of the universities of Frankfurt and Hamburg studied how the American residential liberal arts colleges and universities were organized and financed. All these enterprises found patrons in wealthy businessmen and bankers, chiefly German Jews and American Jews of German origin.

The vast majority of the university professors of both countries came to regard professional exchanges as, on the whole, a success. The experience and the conclusions that individual professors drew from such exchanges are documented in scores of publications.

Increasing international competition had been creating political pressure on the universities to intensify contact with scientists abroad. This was especially true of the natural and engineering sciences. From 1840 on, the development of agricultural chemistry in the United States received its primary impulse from Justus Liebig (1803-1873), professor at the University of Giessen, who exerted this influence through his writings and his American students. Agricultural chemistry subsequently became a central discipline at the land-grant colleges that were founded following the passage of the Morrill Land Grant Act in 1862 (Rossiter, 1975).

Turning to the German perspective, Professor Franz Reuleaux of Berlin's Industrial Academy (after 1879, the Technical University in Berlin-Charlottenburg) visited the Philadelphia World Fair of 1876. In his reports he underlined the more advanced development of important areas of technology and the technical sciences in the United States in comparison with Germany. He told of hearing sharp criticism of Germany's industrial products, which the Americans considered shoddy and which were felt to lack quality in design. Moreover, German products were said to be promoted for jingoist reasons. To in-

crease exchange between the two countries in these fields, the American-German Association of Technical Engineers was founded in 1884.

Althoff promoted further trips to the United States for the purpose of gathering information about institutes and colleges prominent in the natural and engineering sciences, in particular Cornell, Yale, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Close connections developed between MIT and the Technical Universities in Berlin and Aachen, and, as German scientists became better acquainted with the accomplishments of their American colleagues, they found rationalization of technical production to be more advanced in the United States. As a consequence, a chair was established at the Technical University of Berlin for the design of machine tools and for instruction in the factory system of production; in 1904 Georg Schlesinger was the first professor to be appointed to it. In 1912 Professor A. Wallichs of the Technical University of Aachen published a German translation of Frederick W. Taylor's book, *Shop Management*, with his own supplementary notes, thereby making generally known in Germany the system of "Taylorism", the technique of modern industrial production based on the scientific analysis of the work process into its smallest constituent elements.

Concern about the state of the natural sciences in Germany relative to the rest of the world played a central role in the establishment of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society, which was to take responsibility for furthering research in chemistry and in other natural sciences.

Prior to the First World War the prominent theologian Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930), who developed a close relationship with the imperial court, shaped official policy regarding science and scholarship in Germany. After his sojourn in the United States in 1904, von Harnack wrote to a colleague:

> "Your assumption is entirely correct that my trip brought me powerful stimulating impressions, not available in Europe. It was a magnificent time; no dissonance or unpleasant experience troubled it. Germany - and especially its universities - still enjoys a tremendous capital of respect, love, veneration, and admiration in America! May it always justify this trust and remain worthy of it ..."

International politics and international commerce had become - to borrow an expression from Ralph Waldo Emerson - "a great battle for world supremacy." In a 1909 memorandum on the "necessity of a new organization for the advancement of science in Germany" - a memorandum intended to prepare the way for the establishment of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society - von Harnack described in detail the ways in which research in medicine and the natural sciences was being furthered in other countries. In the United States, for example, he cited the efforts of Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Henry Phipps, and the federal government. Von Harnack consequently called for the founding of re-

search institutes for the natural sciences and stressed the necessity of preventing the emigration of capable scientists by offering them well-equipped research facilities. As far as possible, provisions were also to be made for international cooperation in scientific matters.

On the whole, until 1914 it was primarily in the United States that the exchanges with German professors and universities bore fruit, although indications of a significant impact in the other direction were already becoming evident. The First World War did not merely interrupt this exchange for a number of years; when it was resumed after the war, there was a changed political situation, and the two partners faced one another with new eyes.

3. The Impact of the First World War, 1914-1918

During the First World War, the thinking of German professors, university students, and school teachers educated at the universities was guided almost exclusively by chauvinistic nationalism. At first, the main targets of this nationalism were the other European powers. At that time, there was still hope that the United States could be kept benevolently neutral, under the influence, in part, of the large population of German origin and of the professors who had participated in the educational exchange between the two countries, such as the German scholars Francke, Kühnemann, and Münsterberg, and American professors. One of them, John W. Burgess, made a noteworthy attempt to influence American opinion in favor of Germany. This illusion was shattered, however, when the United States entered the war in 1917.

The recently published compilation of speeches and appeals by German professors in the First World War "*Aufrufe und Reden deutscher Professoren im Ersten Weltkrieg*" (Böhme, 1975) offers only a small selection from the flood of pronouncements made by German academics during that period. But the book provides a clear outline for their belief in the superiority of the German nation and culture, and for the intention of the Germans, founded upon their belief in this superiority, to annex territory and to become a dominant power in the world. Only in 1917 did the voices of moderation in Germany begin to increase in number. Nevertheless, German university professors, on the whole, continued to reject, indeed to despise, Western democracy until - and even after - the end of the war. For example, the philosopher Max Wundt wrote at the beginning of 1918:

> "In reality, democracy is the triumph of dead numbers over living forms. ... Therefore it is the strong-willed individual who knows his own mind who should rule, not the multitude" (Böhme, 1975, p. 155).

In the United States, the influence of those friendly to Germany diminished, while, at the same time, hostility to Germany intensified in many areas to the point where German-Americans were ostracized and even persecuted. The German language all but disappeared from school curricula. The umbrella organization of German-Americans, the National German-American Alliance, which had had approximately two million members prior to the war, dissolved itself in 1918.

With regard to education, the essential impact of the First World War was the cultural withdrawal of the United States from Europe, and especially from Germany. Until 1914, Americans had always measured the excellence of their own educational system against European systems, while the fundamental attitude of Americans in their dealings with German culture, science, and scholarship had been the esteem of a junior for a senior member of a partnership. But the war not only engendered strong emotions; it also strengthened American self-confidence and opened the eyes of American educationists to deficiencies of the German educational system.

This criticism of German education was led by John Dewey, who had written his doctoral dissertation on Immanuel Kant. In February 1915, he gave a series of three lectures, which were published in the same year under the title *German Philosophy and Politics* (Dewey, 1942).

Dewey exposed with great penetration darker sides of the German philosophical tradition and its vulgarization to the point of perversion. Later, his analysis of the intellectual and emotional currents that dominated Germany during the First World War was confirmed by the success of National Socialism. In 1942, he republished his lectures with an introduction in which he discussed the connection between National Socialism and German philosophy.

It must be added that in the conclusion of his lectures in 1915, and even more emphatically at the end of his 1942 introduction to the reprint of the lectures, he pointed out that "our own country is not free from the guilt of swollen nationalism" (p. 47). He went on to call for "free communication ... in all the phases and aspects of social life, domestic and transnational", and to argue that

> "the democratic way of life commits us to unceasing effort to break down the walls of class, of unequal opportunity, of color, race, sect, and nationality, which estrange human beings from one another" (Dewey, 1942, p. 49).

4. The Political Situation of the Weimar Republic from 1919 to 1933

When considering the situation of Germany after the war in its entirety, one notes that it was allowed only gradually to take part once again in international political and cultural exchanges.

The relationship of Germany to the United States was especially troubled by the fact that the hope of a liberal peace in accordance with the Fourteen Points proposed by President Wilson on January 8, 1918, was disappointed. In general, the international boycott of German academics and their organizations finally began to ease off in 1922. Germany's admission to the League of Nations was an important step toward normalizing its relations with the rest of the world, which was not completely attained before 1930.

The Weimar Republic was plagued throughout its existence - ended by Hitler's seizure of power on January 30, 1933 - by continuous tensions between the left and the liberal forces, whose votes had secured the adoption of the constitution of Weimar, August 11, 1919, and, the rightist conservatives and the nationalist forces, which were reactionary in the literal sense of the term.

The overwhelming majority of German academics and, with them, the Gymnasium teachers, rejected the Republic. Instead of celebrating the anniversary of the proclamation of the Weimar constitution on August 11, the universities celebrated the anniversary of the foundation of the German Empire in Versailles on January 18, 1871. Rather than quote from anti-democratic, nationalist speeches which were common on these occasions, I will show how a prominent witness assessed the situation.

The Swiss theologian Karl Barth, spokesman for later resistance to the Hitler regime by members of the protestant churches, who taught at German universities from 1921 to 1933, wrote in 1947 about his experiences during these years in the Göttingen University newspaper:

> "I found that the professors, as I came to know them socially, in their offices, in meetings of academic senates, and elsewhere, were, with a few exceptions, completely occupied with the struggle against "Versailles" that was common at that time, while their stance toward the poor Weimar Republic - far from giving it a fair chance - was one that even today I can only call sabotage. Not only did they offer no resistance to the political nonsense to which great numbers of students were assenting; on the contrary, they showed a paternal benevolence toward it, and some of them give it their explicit support. They scornfully dismissed the idea that the year 1918 might have meant a liberation of Germany."

5. Relations in Higher Education, Science, and Scholarship from 1919 to 1933

After a hesitant recommencement, German-American relations in education, scholarship, and science attained a level of intensity during the Weimar Republic not known before the war. The accent of these relations had partially shifted, however. On the German side, interest was particularly strong in becoming acquainted with the other country and in conveying a favorable image of Germany to its citizens. In the United States, interest in German educational and scientific institutions as models had diminished, but a new interest had emerged, an interest in observing the latest developments in the relations between left radicalism and nationalist reaction in the young democracy. The concern was directed much more to the danger of communism than to that of rightist extremism. The humanitarian aid that began soon after the war, and especially the pojects of philanthropic foundations, were supposed to help quell this danger.

The German national government as well as the Prussian Ministry of Culture, which led the way for the other 'Länder' in educational matters, wished to resume international relations in the spheres of science and education. During the war, the Prussian Ministry of Culture and the national Ministry of Foreign Affairs had already urged that a systematic cultural policy be actively pursued. Following the war, such a policy was doubly necessary to regain respect for Germany and to reintegrate the country into international cultural scientific life. This policy was implemented by the Cultural Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and by the Prussian Ministry of Culture, which from 1916 to 1930 was first decisively influenced, then headed by Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933). The fundamental positions of these two governmental bodies differed in one important nuance. Becker stood for a policy of modern, liberal-democratic reform, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs tended to be nationalist and conservative in its orientation. Advocates of these two positions were to be found everywhere in German schools and universities. The potential conflict continually threatened to surface and created a situation which was hardly conducive to the creation of democracy in the Weimar Republic.

Despite all efforts on the part of the German government, the first concrete steps to reestabish official relations between the two countries' educational institutions and associations came from the United States and were made by private individuals rather than by the government. In the fall of 1922, at the invitation of an American student group seeking to make contact with the German youth movement, Carl Joachim Friedrich, a student of sociology and political science at the University of Heidelberg, came to the United States to tour the

country. With his help, an invitation to German students to study at American universities was issued for the first time by Dr. Stephen Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education and professor at the City College of New York. The invitation was extended to thirteen German students.

There soon followed the founding of several German organizations, the purpose of which was to foster academic relations with other countries. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Prussian Ministry of Culture actively participated in the establishment of these organizations, the most important of which were the Academic Exchange Service, which arose out of the Heidelberg initiative, and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, which awarded scholarships to foreigners for study in Germany, using funds from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1931, these two organizations were merged to create the German Academic Exchange Service. This body functioned as a public institution well into the Second World War. (After the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Academic Exchange Service and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation were reestablished as separate institutions.) The partner in the United States was the American Student Exchange, which was established in 1923 as part of the Institute of International Education in New York City.

Until 1932, the Academic Exchange Service applied itself energetically to the development of the exchange with the United States. Thereafter, the fate of the exchange between the two countries depended on the assessment of what Germany's new rulers considered politically opportune.

Relatively soon after the war, American students began again privately to pursue their studies at German universities, as did German students at universities in the United States. Starting in the summer semester of 1920, American students were once again enrolled at German universities. During the period between the wars, the number of American students in German universities rose to 800 (1932) and then declined to 166 (1939).

A certain proportion of these students received scholarships provided by the Academic Exchange Service. The number of American students receiving scholarships went from fifteen in 1925 to a maximum of eighty in 1931 and then down to fiftynine in 1937. In addition to these efforts on the part of the Academic Exchange Service, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation awarded post-graduate fellowships to twentyone Americans for study in Germany from 1925 to 1930.

Statistics are available on the number of German students attending universities and colleges in the United States between the two World Wars only for the period beginning with the academic year 1921-1922 and ending with 1930-1931. During this time, the number of Germans pursuing their studies in the United States rose continuously from an initial 49 to 415.

Statistics and the record of institutionalized efforts can only give a very incomplete picture of the extent of intellectual intercourse between the two countries. Here, too, the first stimulus was highly personal and came from outside Germany. At the urging of Chaim Weizmann, Albert Einstein, one of the few prominent opponents of the First World War in Germany and, in addition, a target of anti-Semitic harassment, toured the United States in 1920 giving lectures to promote the establishment of a university in Jerusalem. He was received enthusiastically, and his appearances gave the Americans reason to hope that a new Germany was emerging. In 1923 Nicholas Murray Butler offered him - in vain - a chair at Columbia University.

In the next decade, many German academics followed Einstein to the United States for various lengths of time. Among these were a few who remained in the United States permanently, such as the political scientist Carl Joachim Friedrich, who, after having helped to initiate the first tour of the United States offered to German students, began his professorial career at Harvard in 1926. Another example is the political economist Joseph Schumpeter, who was given a chair at Harvard in 1932.

Among the American scientists and scholars who came to Germany after the First World War, some came to pursue their own education, such as the sociologist Talcott Parsons, who obtained a doctorate from the University of Heidelberg in 1928 with a dissertation on Max Weber. Others came in the name of international cooperation in scientific research, like the many natural scientists attracted to the great German centers of research, such as Berlin, Göttingen, Munich, and Leipzig. International seminars on both sides of the Atlantic also became a customary form of scientific cooperation during this time. The Deutsche Hochschule für Politik in Berlin, principally concerned with adult education, even numbered some Americans among its faculty members. These included Charles Beard and Nicholas Murray Butler.

In spite of the recognition accorded to science and scholarship at German universities after the First World War, one vocal American admirer of Germany, Abraham Flexner, saw cause for concern because he viewed the German universities and the nation at large as confused. Nevertheless, he argued that:

> "While aims have been to some extent muddled and obscured, lack of money is perhaps the most serious of the problems confronting the German university today. ... Adjustments will be reached that will restore and perhaps even increase the efficiency of secondary and higher education."

Flexner's concern was shared by others in the United States with the result that American foundations and many individual Americans who had studied in Germany pitched in to help German science and scholarship financially. The most visible form taken by this aid was a large new building containing lecture

halls at the University of Heidelberg; a sum of $500,000 was given for its construction in 1928.

Flexner concerned himself only with the organizational structure of German universities and the way they were traditionally administered. He did not become acquainted with the German professors of that period as Karl Barth came to know them. Had Flexner done so, and had he reflected upon the mentality and behavior of these professors, the portents of the moral and intellectual catastrophe which wrought havoc in German universities after January 30, 1933, could not have escaped his notice.

Flexner's attitude toward the development of American universities, on the other hand, was very critical. He contrasted the extravagance, ignorance, and lack of understanding on the part of most American university presidents with the promotion of German universities by knowledgeable and understanding ministers and curators, state officials attached to German universities in a supervisory capacity. Giving their attention primarily to the organization of undergraduate education and the building up of professional schools, American university presidents neglected to foster science and scholarship the way this was done in Germany, by appointing to professorships the candidates best qualified in research.

But Flexner was not content just to criticize. Explicitly he invoked the ways in which scientific research and scholarship were being carried out at German universities and in the institutes of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society. He was especially impressed by the freeing of eminent scientists and scholars from teaching and administrative duties. He, therefore, initiated the efforts that led to the establishment of the Institute of Advanced Study in Princeton and became its first director. Even before the collapse of the Weimar Republic, Flexner succeeded in persuading Albert Einstein to become one of the Institute's first members (Flexner, 1960, pp. 250, f.). Einstein left Germany for Princeton on December 10, 1932, and remained there. His residence in the United States was a sign that the centers of research in the natural sciences and in other fields were beginning to shift to that country and became a signal to others to join the exodus from Germany.

6. Relations in Educational Philosophy from 1919 to 1933

At German universities, study of the educational systems of other countries, and particularly that of the United States, gained ground during the Weimar period. This was especially true among the members of the League of Radical School Reformers. The highly respected, widely traveled Peter Petersen was the successor in Jena of Wilhelm Rein (1847-1929). We can assume that they

drew students also from the United States. Friedrich Schneider taught at the universities of Cologne and Bonn. Schneider, like Petersen, had visited the George Peabody College for Teachers in Nashville, Tennessee, which, at the time, had a reputation for being progressive and for that reason attracted like-minded foreign educationists. In Munich, Georg Kerschensteiner remained active until 1931, while Karl Umlauf and Theodor Herbert Becker taught in Hamburg. In Berlin, Fritz Karsen, a reformist educator of socialist orientation, about whom we shall have more to say, lectured at the university from 1931 to early 1933 on foreign educational systems.

The spread of comparative education was accompanied by an increase in publications on this topic in scholarly journals. Initially, articles from foreign authors about education in other countries had appeared primarily in the *Pädagogisches Zentralblatt*, published by the Central Institute for Education. Then, in 1931, Friedrich Schneider in Cologne and Paul Monroe in New York City succeeded in establishing the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft - International Education Review - Revue Internationale de Pédagogie*. Participants in this enterprise were the Central Institute (Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht, Berlin), the German Office for International Educational Relations (Deutsche Pädagogische Auslandsstelle, Berlin), the International Institute of Columbia Teachers College, and the Institute of International Education (both in New York City), as well as two other institutes in Münster and Geneva. The review appeared until 1934. During the short time of its existence in its original form, it carried articles from almost 20 American authors on subjects having to do with education in the United States. They ranged from educational philosophy and education in general, to policies on primary and secondary education, including the improvement of teaching methods and examinations. Since these articles were written in English, the audience they found in Germany was necessarily limited.

There is no evidence of much American interest in the German educational system during this period, aside from the universities. Any policy interest was generally conditioned by American concern about the political and economic development of the young Republic and linked with the resolve that Germany should not become a communist country. That is what was behind decisions on the part of the Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Teaching and other foundations to provide a certain amount of financial support for science and education in Germany. The few discussions of German education by Americans tended to focus approvingly on progressive approaches, for example, in regard to giving children and adolescents more freedom to develop their personalities and on reforms designed to democratize schools. A relatively large number of innovations of the kind were introduced; but American visitors to Germany overestimated the effect of these impulses on the German system of

primary and secondary education as a whole. Only to a limited extent, and moreover, only for a few years, were German schools affected by these reform efforts.

During these years American interest in German education was probably strongest at the International Institute of the Teachers College of Columbia University, founded in 1923 in New York City. In collaboration with the Institute of International Education, it became, from the German point of view, the most important American education research institute for the exchange of information and ideas with other countries, whether in the form of study trips or of exchange of publications and contributions to international journals. Their intimate knowledge of Germany equipped the institute's professors, Thomas Alexander, George S. Counts, Isaac Leon Kandel, and Paul Monroe, to deal intensively with German educational affairs.

For Kandel - as for Dewey - education was part of the community's effort to integrate children, adolescents, and adults into society and also a means for shaping society and giving it stability. In contrast, German reformist educational theory, even when it invoked Dewey and took over his methods of instruction, proclaimed education's independence from society. This theory sought to transplant to Germany educational ideals oriented to the individual, i.e., an orientation in which children and adolescents are given their own space, their own 'Lebensraum', distinctly separate from the daily affairs of society and politics. There they were to be taught national ideals and social virtues and prepared for life in the 'Volksgemeinschaft', the community formed by the German nation. In light of the two countries' different historical experiences, social structures, and hopes for their political futures, the agreement in educational matters suggested by the invocation of John Dewey's name on both sides of the Atlantic proves to be more apparent than real. The difference between the United States and Germany with regard to the dominant philosophy of education in each country might be one of the reasons why, of the educational theorists advocating reform who emigrated from Germany after 1933, only a very small number chose to go to the United States.

7. Alienation Between the United States and Nazi Germany in Science, Scholarship, and Education from 1933 to 1945

The accession to power in Germany of the National Socialists on January 30, 1933, gave a new direction to German-American relations in the sphere of science, scholarship, and education. The destruction of the intellect in Germany extended from the burning of "subversive" books in May, 1933, to the mistreatment and expulsion of intellectuals, including those who were "non-

Aryan" or who were out of favor with the new government. It included the murder of political and "racial" opponents who remained in the country and cast its shadow over all intellectual, scientific, and educational relations between Germany and the United States. We shall examine this process more closely, for it had a significant effect on the United States through the stream of refugees who fled before its ravages.

In contrast, the "normal" relations between the two countries need to be discussed only briefly. Germany brought itself into a state of "cultural isolation" (Rust, 1965, p. 109). Neither the German activities in the fields of science, scholarship, and education, which increasingly were placed at the service of Nazi propaganda, nor the ever more critical observations by American authors, made before a backdrop of anti-German public sentiment, can be considered as "mutual interaction" in the usual sense. Their peculiarity stemmed from the fact that former economic, political, and military competition had taken place within a singularly broad cultural frame, while now this competition extended into a conflict between two opposing cultural systems. In each country, education was a central ingredient, and copying became anathema. In this respect, articles, pamphlets, and books attacking education in the other country are interesting, but cannot be dealt with extensively.

Increasingly, the German Academic Exchange Service became an instrument of cultural and political propaganda. As a consequence, relations between the Exchange Service and the International Institute of Education became increasingly problematic as the former attempted to bring the selection and supervision of grant holders in the United States under its own direction and control. Finally, contrary to the express wish of the International Institute of Education, the German Academic Exchange Service opened its own office in New York City in the middle of 1938 under the name German University Service. Barely six months later, the State Department ordered that this office be closed on suspicion of espionage. The director of the German University Service had called upon German exchange students to make note in their reports of their professors' political attitudes. In all likelihood, he was working for the German intelligence service.

The Amerika-Institut in Berlin also continued its activitiy of documentation, collecting information, and giving advice. To the extent that the few extant records pertaining to the Amerika-Institut permit reconstruction of this period, its behavior during this time exhibits an adaptation to the political situation that was characteristic of many organizations. As a rule, the Institut neither crassly stressed the National Socialist ideology in its dealings with foreigners, for that might have impressed them unfavorably or frightened them away; nor did its members allow foreigners to perceive clearly their own critical attitude

toward National Socialism. Such an attitude might have endangered individuals, the Institut, or the accomplishment of the Institut's objectives. Thus, it was possible to give a certain plausibility to an idea which respected American universities such as Harvard strove to make reality: international academic intercourse was to be kept free of political influences. Occasionally, this policy of adapting to the situation proved successful - whether such "success" was advantageous in the long run, is an open question.

In the name of the single valid 'Weltanschauung', the number of learned journals in Germany was severely restricted. Publication of the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* (International Education Review) was carried on with new German editors and under an altered title. In general, the task of this journal was to continue observation of developments in education abroad, and particularly in the United States. Almost all the articles on American topics which appeared in German journals between 1934 and 1944 were published in this review. Notwithstanding the Nazi commitment of the German editors, the journal aimed at having its opinions respected internationally. Remarkably, one issue of this review, published in 1935 on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of William T. Harris, was devoted to the influence of this Hegelian on social life and philosophy in the United States. Also in this review, Eduard Baumgarten discussed Dewey's critical study of German idealism in three articles which appeared in 1936 and 1937.

After January 1933, the positive American interest in educational theory and politics of Germany that had developed during the Weimar Republic at a few institutions, like the Teachers College at Columbia University and at Peabody College, gave way to a critical observation of the events in Germany. Obviously, in Germany, the effort to achieve understanding, exchange, and friendly relations with other nations on the basis of democratic social institutions gave way overnight to authoritarianism, to a racist ideology, and to nationalist hubris. Works of I. L. Kandel (published in 1935), Harold Taylor (1935), C. H. Bason (1937), J. Dambach (1937), Alind M. Lindgren's study for the U.S. Office of Education (1938), and particularly the thorough study by George Frederick Kneller (1941-1942) - all these give evidence of the horrified effort to understand and find defenses against the threatening developments in Germany. In 1938, Erika Mann, Thomas Mann's daughter, published a book with the unequivocal title *School for Barbarians: Education under the Nazis*.

8. The Immigration of German-speaking Academics and its Impact on Science, Scholarship, and Education in the United States from 1933 to 1945

Those who wanted to flee from National Socialism to the United States found themselves facing a different situation from that before the First World War. Because of the isolationist mood that had arisen in the United States, as well as for economic reasons, immigration had been limited since the end of the war to definite quotas for each country of origin.

Applicants for permanent residence permits had to prove that their income was secured through employment or private financial guarantees. The difficulty for immigrants was acute, since the American middle class, even at liberal arts colleges and universities, was not free from anti-Semitism, and since immigration rules in the years 1930-1937 were especially restrictive as a result of the economic crisis. But persecution increased. The burning of synagogues and the pogroms of November, 1938, were particularly alarming. As the flood of immigrants grew, American willingness to smooth the way increased. Moreover, the economic crisis of the 1930s was followed by an expansion of American higher education, thereby bringing new job opportunities for university teachers. The Emergency Committee in Aid of German (later Foreign) Displaced Scholars was particularly important in its role as facilitator. The activities of this committee began as early as May, 1933, under the direction of Edward R. Murrow and Stephen Duggan of the International Institute of Education. The former was replaced by Betty Drury in 1935. The committee continued its activities until 1945.

The number of university teachers and scientists who had practiced their profession before they emigrated was about 1,000. This appears small when compared to the total number of American teachers in higher education at the time. But many were outstanding in their own field. A few statistics illustrate this: twelve recipients of the Nobel prize found refuge in the United States. The 1944/45 edition of *Who's Who* contains the names of 103 refugees. The 1944 edition of *American Men of Science* contains 220 scientists of German origin. Thus, at a time of increasing impact of science on modern living, the newcomers helped to make particular institutes and universities into institutions of world renown, serving to attract students and researchers from other parts of the world. For example, when Albert Einstein moved to Princeton, the French physicist Paul Langevin is reported to have said:

> "It's as important an event, as would be the transfer of the Vatican from Rome to the New World. The Pope of Physics has moved and the United States will now become the center of the natural sciences."

Even if no other immigrant is accorded the same fame and the same scientific impact as Albert Einstein, there are nevertheless important exponents of many disciplines who had a seminal influence on their subject area.

Immigrants forced to leave Europe arrived hoping to continue their academic work wherever the opportunity existed. This was significantly easier for those who were already established and known in their discipline as well as for those with professional contacts in the United States before 1933. With their knowledge, their methods, their way of teaching, the immigrants penetrated the American system of teaching and research and contributed to the rise in the standard of American academic work. But, taking social science as an example, Rainer M. Lepsius has demonstrated how academic opportunities for immigrants were dependent on the standard of the institution at which they worked and on the scope of the position they were given. This applied to liberal arts colleges as well as to graduate schools.

There were some attempts to manage the problem of immigration by creating new academic institutions. These attempts differed greatly among themselves. Five examples can be mentioned here:

First, there was the *Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton*, mentioned above.

Second, Alvin Johnson adapted the *New School for Social Research*, founded in 1919 as a liberal/progressive institute for adult education, into an institution to serve the integration of immigrant scholars through shared political and social convictions, and to make their work productive and effective. He built up an institution whose staff in the early years consisted almost exclusively of German left-liberal immigrants concerned with social problems. While Princeton became more international through its integration into American scientific activity, the New School remained a "German university in exile" for a long time.

Third, Paul Lazarsfeld, on the contrary, did manage to make an impact on social research by working in association with existing institutions without giving up his independence. His *Bureau of Social Research*, in which no single political conviction was dominant, started in Princeton and became a part of Columbia University in 1939.

Fourth, a genuine institution in exile was the *Institut für Sozialforschung* (Institute for Social Research), of neo-Marxist outlook, which came from Frankfurt University and was eventually attached to Columbia University. Under the direction of Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, it returned to Frankfurt after the war.

Fifth, *Robert M. Hutchins*, president of the *University of Chicago*, followed an ideal of science and scholarship which was diametrically opposed to that of the New School for Social Research in his policy of employing new staff. He

aimed at a university committed to the ideal of a humanist education modeled on the German tradition. To paraphrase Ringer, Hutchins' attitude fitted in well with that of many German mandarins. He employed a relatively large number of politically conservative immigrants, without fear of the criticism that he was creating an excessive and therefore unwelcome concentration of immigrants.

Franz Neumann provides a comprehensive assessment of the impact of immigration reflecting the diversity of the various institutional initiatives for the reception of the immigrants, including those primarily assisting individuals with their new life and work, and those primarily interested in attracting scholars for their scientific achievements and future contributions to teaching and research. In 1936, Neumann came to the Institute for Social Research from the Hochschule für Politik (Academy of Political Science) in Frankfurt, via the London School of Economics. After the war, he became professor of political science at Columbia University. In 1952, he wrote:

> "It is quite impossible to assess the contribution of the German exile to the social and political sciences. The character of the Nazi regime caused - as I stressed - the emigration of scholars of radically different orientation, political and theoretical. Thus there is no comparison possible with the flight of Greek scholars from the Byzantine Empire in the fifteenth century. The extraordinary diversity of European refugee scholars makes it virtually impossible to determine their contributions made to social and political science - in contrast to those in the natural sciences and, perhaps, in contrast to certain specialized historical and philosophical contributions such as art history, literary history, etc., the influences are too subtle, too diffused, to be easily identified or measured" (Neumann, 1977, p. 23).

9. Outlook

After World War II, in their own zone of occupation, the Americans made an early attempt at "reeducation," a thorough reform of schools and universities. A number of German refugees took an active part in reeducation. But the program was short-lived and foundered even before the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany. American policies regarding Germany changed with the beginning of the Cold War. On the one hand, all thought of radical measures to change the socioeconomic and cultural structure was set aside. Instead, West Germany was given aid for physical reconstruction, so that it could rapidly become a strong and reliable ally in the confrontation with the Soviet Union. On the other hand, it became clear that without altering basic socioeconomic patterns, one could not refashion the structure rooted in a coun-

try's cultural tradition according to foreign ideas, especially over a short period of time. Such external interference also ran counter to the ideals of liberal democracy and self-determination. Moreover, German lacked a sufficient number of suitable schoolteachers, university faculty, and administrators who could have undertaken reeducation efforts. Thus, in practice, the universities soon reverted to the structures and curricula which had been in use before 1933, with the exception of subjects directly affected by recent history.

Since 1949, communication between the United States and the Federal Republic has increased beyond all expectations in education, the sciences, the liberal arts, and all fields of scholarly research. After a period when German participation in international exchange hat first been limited and then during the war nonexistent, new opportunities for study and information-gathering visits to the United States enabled Germans to acquaint themselves with the American way of life, democracy, and politics, and to take home the latest scientific and educational ideas and practices. This provided an important stimulus for social and political life in the Federal Republic, as it did for education, science, and scholarship there. American private and government organizations promoted these visits and funded them generously. From the beginning, they were concerned with the intellectual recovery and the rebuilding of universities and research institutions in the Federal Republic. This included the promotion of visits to Germany by American scholars. Increasingly, immigrants took part in the visits, although most of them did not return to Germany permanently. Over the years, German institutions took part in organizing visits and meetings and in providing the necessary funds. In the years after 1960, contacts intensified and a normal international exchange developed. This had led primarily to each nation's reception of scientific ideas, discoveries, and methods from the other country. Further, developments in the mass media and the emergence of hitherto unknown levels of mass travel extended the dimensions of mutual exchange beyond the individual level, which had formerly been so important.

These developments ought to be studied in their own right, especially with regard to evaluating how much has been achieved beyond the immediate postwar need to become familiar with developments to which access was barred during the Nazi period and the war. Which of the more recent trends in scientific research in the United States have had a lasting impact on the Federal Republic? What impact - if any - can be discerned in the opposite direction on the United States? How have the two cultures' perceptions of each other evolved? Which of these cross-influences could be viewed as a spreading and strengthening of a modern international culture?

Two developments lend topical significance to such questions of reciprocal influences:

1. Because of their age, most German emigrants to the United States of both generations - those who were established in their field before emigration and those who had come young and made their career in the States - have gradually been leaving the scene; with them a group has disappeared which was of crucial importance to mutual understanding between the two nations. Despite the increasing current contacts between the two countries, there is some concern that this group's empathetic mediation between the two cultures and peoples, in a sense a living example of cosmopolitanism (Weltbürgertum), will not be maintained with equal commitment when they are gone.

2. The seriousness of this concern is evident against the background of growing international weight the Federal Republic has gained recently. It may force both the United States and the Federal Republic to define their respective political interests openly and explicitly. This raises the question of whether the base of mutual understanding and trust is strong enough to permit the elaboration of mutually agreed-upon strategies for action or, if the need arises, to endure political conflict and divergence. Or will the extreme dangers facing the world of today force us all into creating effective new concepts of democracy and sources of political strength which surpass national borders? These questions point to most urgent tasks for education and research in the United States and the Federal Republic and throughout the world.

3

The Changing Framework of Trans-Atlantic University Interaction

by David C. Knapp

1. Introduction

I place my emphasis upon the American-German relationship for several reasons, not the least of which is that much of my international experience within the past dozen years has grown out of an exchange agreement between the University of Massachusetts and the nine universities of Baden-Wuerttemberg. But beyond this personal element, the German-American university intraction strikes me as more significant than any other, Britain excepted, in shaping contemporary American university life. The very concept of a graduate education, research oriented university emerged in large measure from the experiences of Americans studying in Germany in the 19th and early 20th centuries, two of whom, Andrew D. White and Jacob Gould Schurman, became president of Cornell and returned to Berlin to serve as American Ministers to Germany.

The interaction became increasingly two way in the mid and late 20th century, first, as German scholars, rejecting and rejected by their own land, moved to the United States and proceeded to transform many aspects of scholarship and academic life; and second, in the years following World War II, as German scholars who had studied in the United States returned home to lay the foundation for rebuilding the German academic system into a condition of parity with trans-Atlantic universites. Taken together, these several stages of trans-Atlantic scholarly migration, sometimes temporary, sometimes perma-

nent, provide the enduring context within which to consider the requirements occasioned by contemporary changes.

Before turning to the main body of my comments, I should like to offer some general observations about the past and future. First, much of our national policy related to university international activity has been founded on something like a "big brother" complex which offers the United States politically and economically as the "world's best hope." International education has been used as an instrument to promote democratic ideas, abet economic recovery or development, or build a better world in the American image. That perspective strikes me as obsolete. Alternatively, in the contemporary "Age of Europe," the emphasis must be placed on reciprocity, of asking what we, working with others, can accomplish for them and us through joint educational activity.

Second, trans-Atlantic international programming, in terms of both faculty and graduate student exchanges has been random, resting on individual interests and initiative. While the results of this approach have been significant over many years, I believe that new conditions require both institutionally and nationally, a more programmatic approach to university international activity. Finally, the international dimensions of universities need to brought in from the margins of American academic life, and integrated into the core functions of graduate education and research. I shall return to this point later.

2. The Changing Context of University Cooperation

The apparent, at least for now, end of the Cold War; the shifting economic status of nations; the evolving, if at times hesitant, emergence of the European Community - all provide a new context within which to consider the relationships of universities within the world at large. I should like here to indicate three changes which seem to me especially relevant to American-German university cooperation.

University Parity

American academic life in the past fifty years has, like many aspects of our society, enjoyed a position of substantial pre-eminence among Western nations. The dominance of American universities in the trans-Atlantic community is diminishing, however, so that unlike the recent past, or previous periods in which one side or another had dependence on the other, academic institutions in both Germany and the United States are now closer to a position of academic parity than ever before. This is especially the case in areas of science and

technology, but increasingly so, I am told by specialists, in other disciplines and professional fields as well.

The changed academic balance across the Atlantic has yet to be fully appreciated in the United States. Many faculty continue to view not only academic exchange and international programs but disciplinary strength as well from a position of American superiority. In at least one discipline in the social sciences, I am told, editorial boards and reviewers dismiss European contributions out of hand as irrelevant which, given the field, strikes me as both arrogant and provincial. In retaliation, it would appear that Americans are not longer being invited to European meetings. To the extent that such attitudes and behavior persist over time, American universities will run the danger of becoming isolated from the larger academic community.

Most importantly, however, with growing parity of academic strength, the flow of graduate students from Western Europe to the United States is likely to diminish. Should this happen without counter initiatives from American universites, the long term collegial relationships which are now the basic underpinning of American-German university cooperation are likely to be severely damaged. I believe that the trans-Atlantic academic community of my generation and the next has had virtually immeasurable benefits for the United States. The new parity among universities offers an opportunity for preserving the sense of community, but only if a new element of reciprocity is injected into international programming.

The Socio-Economic Context of University Life

I see no reason to dwell here on the multi-national, global nature of late 20th century economic, social, and political life and its implications for universities in all facets of their activities. Yet it might be helpful to look briefly at how some of the changes, at least in the corporate world, impinge upon the life of one university.

In Massachusetts, high technology corporations which provide major support for university education and research are heavily involved internationally, both in trade and manufacturing. Digital Equipment Corporation, which employs more than 1,000 University of Massachusetts graduates world-wide, maintains overseas manufacturing operations which account for more than half of its total personnel. Hewlett Packard's medical instruments manufacturing facilities in Waltham, Massachusetts and outside of Stuttgart are carbon copies of each other; managerial personnel - both German and American - are familiar with both sites. Even a small firm manufacturing environmental pollution measuring instruments, with 250 employees, now has subsidiaries in

three European nations, and has moved a substantial part of its operations into its principal source of competition, Germany.

Multinational knowledge-intensive industries are, of course, strongly research and development oriented, with extensive university interactions, often within a context of corporate-university-government partnerships. In these activities, as elsewhere, corporations are seldom wedded to an American First policy. Monsanto's university research support in materials and biotechnology is international, including in one program, both Harvard and Cambridge universities, the latter, the European, providing the more successful environment for research in the judgment of the CED. Willingness to search broadly for trained intelligence holds true for German and Japanese corporations, as well, as I found in opening negotiations with R&D leadership at Hitachi a year ago.

In summary, the context in which university graduates work is increasingly international. So also is the funding of science and technology oriented research, both basic and applied. This being the case, the future thinking about university international programming and exchanges should logically take these conditions into account.

The European Community

The higher education programs of the European Community, ERASMUS and COMETT, constitute on the surface a major change in the framework of American-German university cooperation, a significant modification in the governmental context of university exchanges. Yet it is probably too early to measure the true impact.

In conversations in May and August, 1990, most Germans to whom I spoke saw little immediate impact from the programs upon German-American exchange relationships. Interest in ERASMUS was seen as low, mainly because of language and housing problems. Indeed one set of data suggested that the United States remained the preferred country of study for significant numbers of graduate students. A minority of observers, however, expressed concern about the potential longer range effects of the program, especially if American universities should be seen as slipping into a less pre-eminent position than in the past. Most, like good university people everywhere, displayed skepticism about the effectiveness of the European bureaucracy and its understanding of universities and their priorities.

I am somewhat less sanguine about the future than my European friends. I am especially concerned about the stability of cooperative relationships between Germany and American universities during the early stages of reunification. In the past year, I have seen the time and attention of key officials under-

standably drawn to the problems of the new German state. Some thirty years of academic administrative experience leads me to believe that rebuilding the east and working within the new European framework will necessarily divert the attention of many from the cultivation of trans-Atlantic relationships.

The burden for sustaining the efforts must therefore rest at least temporarily on American shoulders. It is to our advantage to begin thinking creatively about a new framework for student exchange and academic cooperation. To put it somewhat differently, we in the United States need to take the leadership in adapting some of the principles underlying European Community programs to a broader framework of trans-Atlantic cooperation.

3. Concepts for the Future

With the renaissance of German universities over the past half century, the stage has now been set for a new priority in American-German university cooperation, one which I would term "programmatic collaboration." From the perspective of the United States, the objective would be the education of a corps of American professionals, both academic and non-academic, capable of pursuing professional careers successfully in contemporary society. "Programmatic collaboration" would thus be oriented toward education for both professional performance and cultural understanding.

The instrument for "programmatic collaboration" would be well-defined international university partnerships. Through them, two or more universities in Germany and the United States, with equal and complementary strengths in selected fields, would pool their resources to facilitate common, integrated study for professional masters and doctoral degrees and other forms of collaborative faculty activity. I will suggest later that both national and institutional funding should support such partnerships, at least in their initial stages.

I would stress at the outset the importance of building within the United States a professoriate which thinks about professional fields and disciplines from more than an American perspective. If we look backward, compared with the first half of the 20th century, relatively few younger American faculty have pursued their education within European universities. This trend, clearly the result of the maturing of American graduate education, continues and heightens the potential for American academic isolation referred to earlier. For example, I have been able to identify only one American student now seeking a doctorate or engaged in extended graduate study in engineering in Baden-Wuerttemberg. There may be others, but in this field as others, the numbers will generally be small.

Within partnerships, a variety of options for advanced study might be designed by the faculties of collaborating institutions. Assume, for example, that a German and an American university have recognized and complementary strengths in computer and information science. At a minimum students might be expected to complete two or three terms of study at each university. Alternatively, students might have the opportunity to pursue their doctoral research under faculty at either institution or have shorter research associations at both institutions.

Whatever form the cooperation might take, the faculty at both would collaboratively specify the common academic experiences which would lead to a truly integrated program of advanced study. I would stress that such programs will work only if they are rooted in equal and complementary academic strengths on both sides.

Barbara Burn has called to my attention the "integrated courses of study abroad" program initiated by the German Academic Exchange Service a decade ago. Through it, three or more students would study at a foreign institution for one or two semesters. I have not been able to determine the extent to which it was pursued, nor whether it was successful. Yet it strikes me as a useful departure point for universities in the United States and Germany wishing to pursue joint programming.

At the professional master's level, bi-national programs already exist in one field both within Europe and between Europe and the United States: management and business. They deserve systematic exploration as possible prototypes for possible collaboration between German and American universities. If one were, for example, to develop a five year MBA program which encompassed the undergraduate years at an American institution, a student could study for two years within his or her home country, spend the next two abroad, and return for the final year to the home institution, thereby gaining an understanding of two business cultures, something which CEOs tell me is badly needed within both small and large enterprises.

I would not underestimate the difficulties inherent in bi- or multi-national academic programming. Planning for interdisciplinary study in a single institution or cooperation among five colleges in a single river valley in the United States is stressful enough. For trans-Atlantic university partnerships, the problems of language training and competence, institutional and faculty autonomy, and state higher education bureaucracies present potentially formidable obstacles. Yet I cannot help but believe that if two German, one Swiss, and one French university in the upper Rhine Valley can collaborate in advanced study in biotechnology, then German and American universities can develop programmatic partnerships for advanced study as well.

Advanced study programmatic partnerships, like any other form of graduate education, must rest on a strong faculty research base, in this case involving individuals geographically and institutionally far apart. The partnership must therefore provide means for continuous faculty interaction between or among universities, preferably through one to three months "detached service" leaves which would permit participation in collaborative research, seminars, and the supervision of graduate student research. Faculty, especially in the sciences, believe that such a pattern of short term leaves would be preferable to the more traditional semester or year long leaves, with or without the partnership concept, since they would afford regular professional interaction and would be less disruptive of both family and professional responsibilities at home.

Increased, regularized faculty interaction could have several benefits beyond the conduct of joint advanced study programs. First, should collaborative research projects develop with involvement of faculty and graduate students from two or more universities in the United States and Germany, they might prove to be of more substantial interest to and susceptible of funding from multinational corporations or their foundations.

Second, partnership faculty through interaction might discover innovative projects which neither might have the resources to develop on its own. By way of illustration, through the Massachusetts/Baden-Wuerttemberg exchange program, a vido taped course in manufacturing engineering is beeing developed which capitalizes on German expertise in the subject field and American experience in on-site education for engineers through telecommunications. Altogether two American and three German universities have been involved in the project, with National Science Foundation and German and American industry support, two corporations having manufacturing facilities in both nations. I can think of no better example of how a more generalized partnership among universities has been able to bring into play a combination of university, business, and governmental interests to satisfy an academic and economic development.

Finally, faculty interaction in a programmatic partnership can provide something which is currently too often missing in American universities - a vested faculty interest in international activity at the departmental level outside of language, literature, and area study departments. Programmatic partnerships would build international programming into the university's decentralized power base in the activities which count for the most in the contemporary research university. They could, in other words, be the means by which the American university could become truly internationalized in the 21st century.

4. Some Concluding Observations

In presenting this brief sketch of a programmatic partnership approach to American-German university cooperation, I recognize that many elements are already present in one form or another of university international educational activities. I would stress, however, that the emphasis upon advanced study and the education of professionals within the new global context must hold high priority in both institutional and national policy, regardless of the form which programming may take.

Over the years many of my European friends and colleagues have asserted that the American higher education leadership is less internationally oriented than the European. Given the size and scope of the nation, perhaps this is as natural for academe as it has been for many other aspects of American society. Most certainly while the international dimensions of universities often loom large in publications and presidential pronouncements, relatively few presidents and their executive staffs have been willing to allocate hard dollars in substantial amounts to support international programming. International education is a good thing as long as it finds support from external sources and relies on individual faculty members and administrators for entrepeneurship.

Unlike the individual activity of faculty and students under most university exchange arrangements, programmatic partnerships would force the issue of internationality upon American universities. At stake would be the integrity of degrees offered in their names. Faculty time assignments, course design and scheduling, and students admissions would all need to be carried out under joint American and German university arrangements. A programmatic partnership for advanced study, along with ancillary research and other academic activities, would require their budgeting as core, rather than fringe, university functions.

Programmatic partnerships would squarely place universities, as institutions, in the business of developing and disseminating knowledge without regard for national boundaries, something which is now professed more often in the abstract than realized in fact. They would, in other words, place American universities in the full stream of international intellectual life as equal and joint participants with their counterparts abroad.

In presenting this concept, I am quite cognizant of the fiscal stress that both American and German universities face at the present time. As budgets are being pared back, I doubt that many administrators will think of promoting a new concept of international education as a matter of the highest priority. For this reason, I believe it would be important for the federal government to offer support through institutional incentive grants for trans-Atlantic university cooperation. Grants, which would require institutional matching funds, could co-

ver at least in the initial phase graduate student and faculty travel stipends as well as planning and design expense. The costs would, I believe, be relatively modest, especially in terms of the long range benefits which would flow from the investment.

I conclude by returning to my opening observations. With the significant changes in world economic and political affairs in the past decade, American universities need to think differently about their own international roles. Programmatic partnerships are one way to begin the reassessment, and given their historical and contemporary linkages, German und American universities offer the most fertile ground for a beginning.

4

The Impact of United States Higher Education on German Higher Education Reform and Innovation Debates

by Claudius Gellert

1. Introduction

For more than 40 years, there has been a lively debate on the organizational patterns, tasks and purposes of German universities and on the higher education system in general. One of the main reasons has been the quantitative expansion of the overall system and its transformation from an elite sector to mass higher education. The considerations of policy-makers, academics and the interested public leading to this expansionist development had, on the one hand, largely to do with the perceived need of highly qualified personnel in times of growing international economic competition ("manpower requirement approach") and, on the other hand, with demands expressed by educationists and politicians who claimed that education, including higher education, was a general civil right and that larger age-cohorts of the population should be given an opportunity for advanced training ("social demand approach").

Since the transition of the higher education system from a selective, elite-oriented institution to a system of almost universal advanced training brought about a whole range of structural and organizational problems, those involved in the accompanying discussions about the optimal cause and direction of these changes were often looking for comparative examples in other countries helpful to the ongoing reform process. The primary model of higher education (although in reality it consisted of a number of different models) soon became

the system of the USA. Partly because of personal experiences of some of the academics and politicians involved in the German debates and partly because of the overwhelming success in economic as well as scientific respects of the American system, the US-paradigm became the predominant frame of reference for the innovative search.

Thus we will in the following, look at some of the major features of this development and its accompanying reform and innovation debate and will pay attention to the role which the American system of higher education (and the example of the research universities in particular) have played within this development. After a brief historical overview of the three models especially relevant in our context (England, Germany and the USA), we will look at the overall process of institutional diversification and related problems of quality and prestige differentiation. The quality of research and teaching, as well as the perceived need of more institutional distinctiveness of higher education sectors, which recently became the focus of attention within the so-called "elite discussion" and in related attempts to define performance indicators, has been strongly influenced by references to the US-system. We will attempt to determine whether and to what extent the US-paradigm lends itself to these kinds of institutional reforms in the German system.

2. Historical Perspectives

In the German-speaking realm of higher education there has existed a long tradition of a functional unity of teaching and research, which may be described as the normative expectation that the professional role of academics at universities should be defined in such a way that the occupational aspect of teaching is closely intertwined with and directly based on the ongoing process of research of the individual academic. The idea, in its original form, not only maintains that university teachers should be involved in research, but that the specific insights and outcomes of their respective research activities should directly become the substance and content of their teaching.

This aim was formulated by the German philosophers of Idealism and the Prussian administrators responsible for the fundamental reform of the universities in the beginning of the nineteenth century. For them, the training of students to become civil servants, teachers, doctors, etc., had to take the form of a seemingly purpose-free process of searching for truth. This required, on the one hand, a large degree of independence for the universities from state

interference.[1] On the other hand, it presupposed an internal reorganization of universities in such a way that students and professors could pursue an understanding of "objective truths" in a combined effort. Wilhelm von Humboldt, who called this aim "Bildung durch Wissenschaft" (education through academic knowledge), was convinced that the traditional relationship of authority between pupils and teachers had to be replaced by the undirected and free cooperation among students with different levels of knowledge: "Therefore the university teacher is not any longer teacher, the student not any more just learning, but the latter researches himself and the professor only directs and supports his research."[2] In contrast, as we will see, to England, not the student, but the subject was to receive primary attention. As Humboldt put it: "The relationship between teacher and student ... is changing. The former does not exist for the sake of the latter. They are both at the university for the sake of science and scholarship."[3]

Since the search for truth was not to be restricted by considerations of time, immediate occupational purposes or state control, professors as well as students had to be enabled to teach and learn what they were interested in. While this led to the students' "freedom of learning",[4] it also had the major consequence for university teachers that an interest in new, i.e. the discovery of "objective" knowledge among students (the "co-researchers") became the central aspect of their professional (self-) definition.

The actual development of the German universities during the nineteenth century in some respects confirmed the intentions of the early reformers and proved their concepts to be successful. As a consequence of the rapid industrialisation and the emerging imperialism of the German Empire, the universities became true research universities. There was a permanent demand for results in fundamental research, particularly in the natural sciences, not least

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1 Cf. F. Schleiermacher. "Gelegentliche Gedanken über Universitäten im deutschen Sinn" (1808), in E. Anrich (ed.), *Die Idee der deutschen Universität* (Darmstadt 1956) p. 272; cf. J.G. Fichte. *Sämtliche Werke* (Berlin 1845/46) vol. VIII, p. 203.

2 W. v. Humboldt. *Gesammelte Schriften, vol. XIII* (Berlin 1920) p. 261; - Quotations from German texts are my translation.

3 W. v. Humboldt. *Schriften zur Politik und zum Bildungswesen, Werke, vol. IV* (Darmstadt 1964) p. 256.

4 The freedom to select freely from what was offered in various disciplines, to change universities whenever they liked, and to take their final exams when they felt ready for them.

for military purposes.[5] The powerful university professors (Ordinarien) were engaged in a continuous process of redefining the frontiers of knowledge. The fields of knowledge were constantly changing and expanding. There seemed to be no need for a clear-cut definition of established scholarly results, nor for specific university curricula. In this situation, the principle of a unity of research and teaching was a natural consequence, since the training of the scholarstudents followed the permanent flow of results in fundamental research.

The success of the German universities in specialised scientific and scholarly research even led to a significant influence on other systems of higher education. As Ben-David has observed, "until about the 1870's, the German universities were virtually the only institutions in the world in which a student could obtain training in how to do scientific or scholarly research."[6] At the end of the nineteenth and during the first decades of the twentieth century, many American and British scholars travelled to Germany. If not the function of research as such, but at least the notion that university teachers should be actively engaged in research, was introduced to American and English universities to some extent under the influence of the German example.[7]

3. Modifications of the English, American and German Models

The ways in which the idea of "unity of research and teaching" was introduced to English and American universities, is, however, a major indication of the fact that the German ideal has by no means become a universal principle. In the English case, as was mentioned above, there prevailed a strong tradition of orienting university education to the personal development of the student rather than to disciplinary requirements, as in Germany. Although the old ideal of character formation was transformed into the concept of "liberal education", which put considerable emphasis on scientific and academic training, the intellectual aspect of learning always remained embedded in the broader

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5 It has been calculated that roughly one third of all financial support of university research at the end of the 19th century was spent for military purposes. Cf. H.-W. Prahl. *Sozialgeschichte des Hochschulwesens* (München 1978) pp. 227f.

6 J. Ben-David. *Centres of Learning: Britain, France, Germany, United States* (New York 1977) p. 22.

7 This applies less to Scottish universities who had a strong research tradition anyway. - For the USA cf. C. Diehl. *Americans and German Scholarship 1770-1870* (New Haven 1978) for the English case, cf. E. Ashby. "The Future of the Nineteenth Century Idea of a University" in *Minerva VI*, 1, Autumn 1967, pp. 3-17.

function of improving an individual's personality.[8] Consequently, the English universities were able to do both: to define clear areas of established knowledge, which were organized as binding curricula, and to encourage their academics to engage in research as part of their defined duties. The latter did or did not coincide with the teachers' topical teaching programme. There was no obligatory link between the two. Research became an important professional characteristic of university teachers; but the research results did by no means have to be directly utilised for teaching purposes. In this way, it was ensured that academics become and remain acquainted with research activities. This seemed to be sufficient proviso to guarantee high intellectual standards in teaching.[9]

In the United States, the German research example was also adopted towards the end of the nineteenth century. But there, in contrast to England, the consequences for the organization of university teaching and research were more radical. Apart from a complex process of differentiation in the overall system of higher education, which was related to diverging interests, purposes and functions in tertiary education,[10] the sector comparable to European universities, i.e. the "research universities",[11] was characterized by a gradual process of organizational and functional segregation from within. The three major functions of the leading American universities today correspond to a threefold organizational pattern: the function of liberal education, in many respects similar to its British counterpart,[12] is almost exclusively reserved for the undergraduate level; the function of professional training is placed in specialized professional graduate schools; and the research function is exercised mainly within the academic graduate schools of arts and science.

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8 Cf. C. Gellert. *Vergleich des Studiums an englischen und deutschen Universitäten* (München 1988) (2nd ed.) pp. 27f.

9 One indication of the growing importance of research as a necessary qualification of academics was the introduction of the Ph.D. - Cf. R. Simpson. *How the Ph.D. Came to Britain* (Guildford 1983).

10 Cf. D. Riesman. *On Higher Education* (San Francisco 1981). See also: L.R. Veysey. *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1965).

11 Nowadays, there are roughly 200 doctorate-granting institutions in the USA. These are called "research universities" here. In other classifications the term refers to a smaller group of large universities which are characterized by certain quantitative criteria concerning research activities. Cf. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. *A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education* (Berkeley 1973).

12 The American 'liberal arts' concept is, however, characterized by a stronger interdisciplinary emphasis, while in England the 'Single Honours Degree', i.e. a specialized training in one subject, is still prevalent.

The American research universities are, thus, characterized by an almost complete segmentation of teaching and research, at least as compared to the German university tradition. Of course, the professors there are often the same, whether they teach undergraduates or graduates, whether they deal with Ph.D. candidates or with aspiring professionals. But a close connection between ongoing research and teaching only exists in the graduate schools of arts and science. This is the sector within the American research universities, which has preserved and developed the German heritage.

4. Higher Education Reform and Innovation Debates in Germany

In Germany, in contrast, the expansion of the university system after World War II has led to an awkward structural and functional muddle. The transformation of the system into places of mass higher education with about four times more students now than in the early sixties, has jeopardized the traditional balance between the tasks of academic inquiry and advanced training of students. The old ideal of a unity of research and teaching is still part of the official value frame of reference at universities. But in recent decades frictions occurred in this system because of an increasing discrepancy between the traditional research orientation of university teachers and their actual involvement in professional or even vocational training of large numbers. Thus, despite several decades of reform discussions, this model is still characterized by antagonistic structural features: on the one hand, the students' ability to choose freely subjects, universities and their time of examination; on the other, the professors' freedom to teach whatever they like (both sanctioned by the Humboldtian principle of the freedom of teaching and learning). Other significant aspects have been the constitutionally guaranteed open access to all universities for anybody with a respective secondary degree; the bureaucratic and state control of all curricular and organizational matters, including the civil service status of the professoriate; the over-loading of programmes and courses according to individual research interests of the professors; and finally, the widely criticized length of studies in most subject areas.[13]

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13 See C. Gellert, "Andere Ziele, andere Zeiten. Der angloamerikanische Mut zur Erziehung wird durch kürzere Studienzeiten belohnt", in *Deutsche Universitätszeitung* 19/1988, pp. 20-23.

5. Institutional Differentiation

As in most other Western industrialized societies, the Federal Republic of Germany[14] has experienced a rapid expansion of its tertiary system of higher education over the last quarter of a century. During that period, hardly any other institution within West Germany has experienced such a comprehensive and rapid transformation as the system of higher education. The number of students has quadrupled over that period. Staff in universities and other institutions of higher education, as well as government funds for teaching and research, increased at a similar rate. New universities and other forms of advanced learning were set up. Traditional academic disciplines flourished and many new desiciplines or sub- disciplines emerged. Outdated structures of institutional authority and government were replaced by more democratic and transparent decision-making procedures. Above all, admission to tertiary levels of education and training changed from a restrictive elite-mode, to varied patterns of mass higher education. This expansion of the higher education system has occurred through the extension of the existing university sector (partly by founding new universities) and through the development of alternative educational structures. As a consequence of this institutional differentiation there emerged more practically and vocationally oriented forms of higher education than the universities. Thus e.g. the Polytechnics in Britain, and in West Germany the Fachhochschulen began to constitute a major counter-weight to the traditional universities.[15]

This process of differentiation, still continuing, is possibly the biggest change in higher education since the development of the research function in universities following Humboldt's reforms in Germany in the 19th century. In some countries, first-tier programmes offering students 'short-cycle' diplomas were set within conventional universities (internal differentiation, comprehensive universities).[16] West Germany, however, to some extent under the influence of the American higher education model, opted for a different alternative, namely the overall diversification of the whole system, through the development of institutions outside the traditional university sector. This entailed the rapid expansion of an already existing post-secondary non-university sector and the upgrading of institutions from secondary to post-secondary level.

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14 In the following also referred to as West Germany.

15 Cf. C. Gellert. *Alternatives to Universities in Higher Education* (Paris (OECD) 1991).

16 The French university system is the most significant example of this.

There exist, however, several problems in this area. One concerns the fact that the vocational orientation of the Fachhochschulen is accompanied by a curricular narrowness, mainly in the fields of engineering, business studies and social work, which raises questions with regard to the general educational values normally expected from tertiary training. Even more fundamental problems relate to the notion of open access to higher education, i.e. the political aim of equal educational opportunities. In contrast to the higher education system of the United States, higher education differentiation in Germany was carried out under the umbrella notion that all higher education institutions were, despite differences in their tasks and purposes, nevertheless "equal" in quality and standing. Most recently, the Wissenschaftsrat (Academic Council) has again attempted to maintain this concept.[17] But it is hardly possible to compare the Fachhochschulen with the universities in overall quality respects, since the former have much worse infrastructural conditions (for research etc.), smaller salaries for the professors (despite more than twice as much teaching) and lower reputation. Because of the official ideology of equality, however, there still exist tendencies of "academic drift" among the Fachhochschule sector, i.e. attempts to become more similar to the universities.[18]

The influence of the United States paradigm in this respect is growing only very slowly. But there are people also in Germany who point out that functional differentiation, i.e. the allocation of differing tasks and roles in higher education, can only be maintained if at the same time a dynamic structural hierarchy of quality and prestige distinctions between sectors, institutions and departments is accepted as a normal phenomenon. The difficulties which in Germany exist concerning the acceptance of this nexus between differentiation and hierarchy, can finally best be illustrated by the so-called "elite discussion".

6. Elite Discussion and Quality Measurement

In West Germany, as part of the conservative turn in politics of higher education since 1982, a debate has occurred on the presumed decline in the quality of research and teaching in higher education as a consequence of the development of a system of mass higher education. This has resulted in demands

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17 Cf. C. Gellert. "Anders, aber gleichwertig - Anmerkungen zum Funktionswandel der Fachhochschulen", in *Beiträge zur Hochschulforschung* 1/1991, pp. 1-25.

18 The situation is not as dramatic yet as in Great Britain, where the polytechnics will now be allowed to rename themselves into universities. See C. Gellert. "Anders, aber gleichwertig - Anmerkungen zum Funktionswandel der Fachhochschulen", op. cit.

for more institutional selectivity and distinctiveness, for a strengthening of the role of university professors in decision-making processes, and generally for more orientation toward quality in higher education. Special measures were asked for, like particular support of gifted students and outstanding researchers, or the creation of centres of excellence in higher education.

However, the discussion has been inconsistent in several respects. For instance, the need for special research support for those who have already proven their excellence is not self-evident, since such academics and students can usually get the money they need. Particularly, there has occurred a fundamental lack of clarity: there were frequent demands for individual support measures, while in order to underline those demands, references were often made to England and USA, whose elite universities supposedly guarantee high academic standards.[19]

One consequence of the elite discussion has been a debate on measuring and evaluating the quality of research and teaching, an area where the US experiences were very influential. The discussion comprised a whole range of methods of measuring quality differences by performance indicators, like citation indices, reputation, external funds ("drawing power"), prizes, etc. The unit of analysis is usually the individual researcher, since only his or her out-put can be "measured". The political intention behind such efforts has mostly been whether exact methods for qualitative differentiation in higher education could be found, i.e. the aim of those engaged in the debate (academics as well as politicians) is to find an objective basis for differential treatment of researchers and/or departments by governments.

Most people who are engaged in this debate, are aware of the problems involved in these quantitative approaches, but keep on trying. The objections to such attempts are well-known, and can be summarized as follows:

1. The number of publications is misleading; quantity does not necessarily reflect quality.
2. The emphasis of the debate is too narrowly on research. Teaching is usually left out; moreover: service function, extra-curricular activities, etc. hardly play a role at all.
3. Citation indices, leading roles in professional associations, editorial boards etc. are sometimes mostly reflections of power-structures or friendship-networks in scientific communities.

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19 One suggestion in this context has been to introduce private universities. This was immediately met by fierce criticism, e.g. by Dahrendorf, who pointed out that it was a misconception to equate private with elite universities, and that such notions carried with them a danger to egalitarian policies in higher education.

4. Finally, external funding depends on the prestige of the academic institution.

This takes us to a central point: even protagonists of quantitative approaches usually acknowledge that in most cases we are not dealing with exact measurement of quality, but with the evaluation of it, i.e. with personal opinions. Thus seemingly objective criteria like citation indices turn out to be social constructions which depend on individual values; e.g., the works of well-known people or of people from well-known universities get cited more often than others. These differences in prestige and reputation normally also have something to do with quality distinctions. But they cannot be explained completely this way. While for instance it is at least an open question whether those academics who manage best to attract public attention, are also the best in their fields, it is almost certain that a number of the very best neither care a lot about where exactly they publish (often since they do not have much of a choice), nor have much inclination to attend any conferences at all.

So we are dealing with the central question: is it really necessary to measure exactly quality differences between universities or departments, in order to achieve institutional differentiation? Increasingly, the example of the higher education system in the United States is getting academics and policy-makers in Germany to realize that exactly measuring quality differences is not necessary for achieving sectoral distinctiveness, even if we may concede that institutional differentiation is necessary. The main point is that in the US, despite the development of sophisticated methods of quality assessment (like performance indicators), the overall process of classification of institutions and departments is based on individual peer-group evaluations, and the differences between sectors and universities which are perceived through presentations in the media, have their own dynamic, insofar as they result in an overall process of control and incentive mechanisms on all levels. It is the awareness of differences among institutions, above all, which makes individual professors, department heads, deans and university presidents constantly strive for improved quality through appointments and promotions. The question of whether these differences are really exactly measured, is of secondary importance. What matters is that everybody involved in the system accepts as natural that quality and prestige differences exist within the higher education system or within a particular sector such as the "research universities".[20]

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[20] C. Gellert. "Wettbewerb und institutionelle Differenzierung. Anmerkungen zur universitären Leistungsbewertung in den USA", in *Beiträge zur Hochschulforschung* 4/1988, pp. 467-496.

7. Conclusion

The German university system is still predominantly characterized by the historical features of the Humboldtian concepts. The 'freedom of teaching and learning' serves both, the interests of the students and of the professors. The 'unity of research and teaching' allows the professors to concentrate on their research and to neglect involvement in curricular developments and student counseling. This has led to excessive length of studies and of organizational frictions.

The debates on university reform, which have been going on for more than thirty years, have often been influenced by references to the American model. Indirectly, also the British system has played a role in the discussions, insofar as the function of personality development, a major aspect of that model, influenced very strongly the American paradigm, but was hardly utilized in the German system. Thus, the American model of "research universities" became a constant frame of reference for the German innovation discussions. But it remained largely unnoticed that we are dealing with a segmented system of three functional orientations: personality development (liberal arts education), research training (in graduate schools of arts and science) and professional training (in separate professional schools). The German universities continued to combine research training and professional education for all students. The notion of introducing separate undergraduate and graduate levels of higher education, as in the US, is often referred to. But the practical consequences, so far, are minimal.

Instead, much of the discussion concentrated on quality differences and the support of particularly gifted students and researchers. Only slowly, an awareness is growing among academics and policy-makers that functional differences in the overall higher education system (i.e. between Fachhochschulen and universities) have by necessity to be accompanied by quality and prestige differentials. The American model, in this respect, is only gradually being accepted. The same applies to hierarchical differentiation within particular sectors. Also here, the understanding in Germany of the American paradigm is only developing slowly. The reason is that it is not exact quality measurement or assessment which in America results in a permanent process of quality and prestige orientation, but an overall awareness of such distinctions of everybody involved in the system. If the understanding in Germany by those responsible for higher education change would grow that those institutional mechanisms of competition and quality orientation which many of them admire in the US, are based on much larger degrees of institutional autonomy than exist at German universities, then the American influence on the reform process of higher edu-

cation in Germany would perhaps result in real modifications of the Humboldtian structures.

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The Need for Trans-Atlantic Cooperation and Exchange of Concepts

by Elaine El-Khawas

1. Introduction

The world is growing smaller; nations and individuals are becoming more interdependent, whether they realize it or not, and whether they welcome it or not. Economic and political events in one part of the world create ripple effects in other countries and territories. Cultural changes and social conflicts in one country often take on characteristics of the changes and conflicts in other countries. Global communication technologies bring a vast array of world events to each home and to each individual. Certainly, historians of the next century will record this growing international interdependence as one of the significant hallmarks that distinguish the twilight years of the twentieth century.

Universities, with their concentrations of intellectual talent and analytic resources, might be expected to be among the keenest participants in efforts to come to terms with increased global interdependence. Indeed, university professors are often among the eminent experts and visionaries called upon to discuss the long-range implications of global interdependence and needed responses by industry, government, and individuals. Yet, universities themselves have been slow to respond, and slow to recognize that their operations and options are being increasingly influenced by events occurring beyond their horizons, both geographic and mental.

The universities in almost all of the industrialized nations are facing quite parallel challenges today, challenges that differ in their specific face but that generally encompass three enduring policy issues: access, costs, and quality. An impartial observer might wonder whether these nations exchange information and ideas about how to address such issues. The response would probably be disappointing. Apart from small-scale efforts - occasional workshops and conferences, special projects sponsored by such organizations as OECD or by individual governments, university-to-university exchanges - there is surprisingly little interchange and serious exploration of common issues across the international academic community.

The European countries provide a partial exception, undoubtedly spurred by the realities of growing European integration. Indeed, from an American vantage point, there appears to be a regular series of meetings, special reports, and projects that offer important comparisons across countries and that yield cumulative insights into the dynamics of different policy choices related to issues of costs, quality, and access.[1]

But what explains the limited trans-Atlantic dialogue, the relative paucity of events or projects that might bring together university leaders and scholars from the U.S. and Canada with counterparts in Europe and other industrialized countries? And why isn't there a clamor for such dialogue, a clarion call for new mechanisms to provide a needed exchange of views?

The conventional response - although not always articulated - rests with a major structural difference in how higher education is organized in the U.S. and in Europe. The contralization of academic decision-making that is characteristic of European countries, it is argued, contrasts so sharply with the decentralization of academic decision-making in the U.S. that comparisons are not useful. The American experience is interesting, but not relevant to Europe. Changes in U.S. higher education make for good stories, but they are still a bit odd to European eyes and not to be taken seriously. Similarly, Americans are often shocked by the ministry-developed and ministry-directed changes that are "imposed" on European universities. Academic traditions and practices in the U.S. have given Americans a special aversion to externally-imposed

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1 See, for example, L. Cerych and P. Sabatier. *Great Expectations and Mixed Performance: The Implementation of Higher Education Reforms in Europe* (Trentham Books, 1986); G. Neave. "On Shifting Sands: Changing Priorities and Perspectives in European Higher Education from 1984 to 1986," *European Journal of Education*, vol. 21, no. 1 (1986), pp. 7-25; *Universities Under Scrutiny* (OECD, 1987); M. Cave et al. *The Use of Performance Indicators* (Kingsley, 1988); U. Teichler. *Convergence or Growing Variety: The Changing Organization of Studies* (Council of Europe, 1988); F. van Vught (ed.). *Governmental Strategies and Innovation in Higher Education* (Kingsley, 1989).

change, even if the policy ideas are good. Thus, when ideas from European practice are advocated, they don't generally gain any American adherents.

So, an impasse exists. Objective observers - for example, the historians of the next century - would certainly agree that there is a value in trans-Atlantic cooperation and exchange among universities. Yet, by and large, the would-be participants in such exchange do not agree that there is a need for exchange of ideas. An interesting intellectual conversation, yes; but a serious need, offering the prospect of systematically using ideas and approaches from others or adapting them to real problems back home? A firm no.

Dismal as the situation may seem, the final curtain has not been dropped. If the broader social forces of interdependence are as compelling and fundamental as most analysts believe, it might be best to construe the current impasse - and disinterest - in trans-Atlantic exchange as only the first act in a multi-act play. Further events will still unfold; new events may precipitate a crisis or new perspective; current actors may rise to new leadership challenges.

The first act has been characterized by relatively superficial contact among the actors, achieving a surface-level understanding among them of their different approaches to common issues. The second act should introduce greater depth and complexity. There should be more attention to differences in context, and serious exploration of which differences have the greater explanatory power. Conflicting interpretations of fact must be aired and sorted out. Creativity should be in evidence; once the actors understand each other better, and the contextual factors that explain different experiences, they can face their own circumstances with a different perspective. The "intellectual blinders" will have been removed; the actors will realize how their perspectives have been limited by their own presumptions and biases, and they will be ready to move forward to new challenges with their new wisdom. Things will never be the same again.

Without pushing this image too far, I urge greater appreciation of the fact that leaders and policymakers in higher education will be "stuck" in the first act if they participate in trans-Atlantic exchanges that are limited to exchanges of concepts and descriptions alone. Cross-national comparisons are useful and important but, by themselves, they do not offer the depth and complexity that is needed to analyze why different approaches work, or to identify the critical elements that explain the success of a particular approach. It is necessary to get beyond description and to analysis of such factors. Once such critical elements are identified, a more meaningful dialogue can take place regarding how those elements can be adapted to another national setting.

This new, more complex approach can be illustrated by looking at a number of educational issues that are highly appropriate for trans-Atlantic cooperation and exchange but that, in fact, have received far less trans-Atlantic discussion

than they deserve. First, I offer three examples related to the relationship between universities and the workplace and, secondly, I cite three examples related to the administration and management of universities. Aspects of the descriptive approach will, in each instance, be contrasted with the questions that could be raised under a more analytical approach. Specific examples will be limited to comparisons between the U.S. and Germany.

2. The Potential for Trans-Atlantic Cooperation and Exchange related to Education and Work

A fundamental role of education in any country is to prepare young people for productive economic roles. Secondary and third-level educational systems of most industrialized countries have generally fulfilled this role in a satisfactory manner but signs of strain and dysfunction have become more noticeable during the past decade. In Germany, for example, underemployment of university graduates, especially teachers, has been a long-term issue.[2]

In the U.S., considerable dysfunction is evident in the lack of work preparation that noncollege-going youth receive. The descriptive facts are well known: at least twenty percent of American students leave high school without a diploma; for them, and for another 30 percent of students who gain a diploma but do not go on to college, there are few organized programs to help their transition to work. Each young person is on his or her own. And, in the 1980s, as the American manufacturing and construction sectors have shrunk, there have been fewer entry-level jobs available to these young people. An immediate contrast can be made to the apprenticeship system in Germany. Virtually all youth who are not destined for university studies (or for studies at the *Fachhochschulen* or specialized institutes) have a well-regarded and attractive option in signing up for one of more than 400 apprentice programs.

Is apprenticeship, following the German experience, a concept that could address American problems in preparing youth for work? The disparity between the two countries is significant: in the former West Germany, 6.5 percent of the labor force are apprentices; in the U.S., barely 0.2 percent of the labor force participantes in apprenticeship programs, primarily in the construction industry.[3] Considering this question only on the basis of

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2 Richard Pearson. "Meeting Europe's Employment Needs - Challenges for the Universities," *CRE-action*, no. 92 (1990), pp. 11-22.

3 Margaret Hilton. "Shared Training: Learning from Germany," *European Journal of Education*, vol. 24, no. 3 (1989), pp. 223-247.

descriptive facts, one might conclude that the German model is an obvious precedent that could help address a serious problem in the U.S.

Another fact will dampen that view somewhat and demonstrate that the prospects for such transfers must be examined closely: in the late 1970s, the U.S. Department of Labor sponsored a program of demonstration projects to encourage use of the German apprenticeship model; from today's vantage point, it is safe to say that they had little long-term impact. Once the federal funding ended, project leaders and union officials let the plan drop. What's needed is a closer analysis to examine what factors are critical to the success of the German approach and, also, what factors would be critical to its success in the American context. Dialogue is necessary at this stage because, typically, the "blinders" of one's own experience and context cause one to exaggerate the importance of certain factors and to ignore other possible factors. Continuing with this example, an American analyst might suggest that the extensive number of small businesses in the U.S. would find it difficult to sponsor an apprentice model; it would not be cost-effective. Here is where trans-Atlantic dialogue helps out. A German participant in such a dialogue could report that small firms do participate extensively in apprentice programs and have made it cost-effective by pooling resources through their local chambers of commerce. Further discussion should narrow the possibilities further and, potentially, identify ways in which an apprentice model might have greater prospect for success in the U.S.

German-American differences in provision for "further training" of workers could also benefit from such factor-by-factor analysis. German firms spend - or invest - more in employee training than do American firms but the spending gap is relatively small. Discussion would heighten the disparity, however, when it is understood that American expenditures on training are disproportionately directed to managerial and professional employees; if data were organized to show relative investments in managerial/professional and nonmanagerial workers, German and American firms would show a substantial gap in their investment in their nonmanagerial employees. The question of how further training can be cost-effective for small firms must also be discussed. Here again, the pooling of resources and training needs through local chambers of commerce is distinctive to the German experience.[4] Relevant too, however, is the fact that German firms, large or small, are required by law to join their local chambers of commerce. This points to a difference in cultural context, reflecting the American predilection for offering choice and relying on voluntary participation. Other cultural differences would also warrant discus-

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[4] Op. cit., p. 34.

sion, for example, to explore why, in a 1987 survey of executives of U.S. trade associations, the great majority questioned the benefits of training. What prompts such a response in the U.S., and how do German industrialists and trade association leaders evaluate the benefits of training?

Such detailed discussion, and factor-by-factor analysis, might also be fruitful in understanding the reluctance of many German universities to adapt the university curriculum in ways that help university students prepare for careers.[5] In this regard, there is German precedent in the experiences of the *Fachhochschulen* in establishing internship requirements, in offering an applied curriculum, and in conducting collaborative research projects with industry. But American higher education offers more varied experiences with employment-oriented curriculum adaptations. Dialogue and exploration of explanatory factors might be especially useful between German universities and those American universities that continue to offer a "classical" curriculum based in liberal arts subjects. How have these American universities blended the employment orientation with the liberal arts emphasis? Part of the answer may rest with structural and cultural factors, including the greater reliance in the U.S. on nonacademic support services for students. Such services offer "career exploration" days, testing for occupational aptitudes, links with alumni who are employed in a position matching the student's career interest, placement in internships and in summer jobs that fit with career interests, and other assistance. On some campuses, survey information is also gathered and made available to students that describes the views of recent graduates - and of employers - about how well prepared the graduates were for their jobs.

But what explains the development of "combined" majors, that allow a student to have a speciality in a classical subject, such as English, as well as a second speciality in a "practical" subject, such as communications? Also interesting to understand are the dynamics of how American professors have some to support such "applied" social science specialities as "policy analysis" and "urban studies." And what explains the development of subspecialities such as "public history," which acknowledges that many university graduates will take positions, not in teaching, but in public agencies that require a historical record to be kept of their activities? For all of these situations, the curriculum has been adapted to offer a closer fit to the career interests of students. To what extent is such adaptation found in Germany and what explains the differences? Are differences in expected roles of the professoriate and in organization of academic departments and institutes a source for understanding the

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5 Ulrich Teichler. "Research on Higher Education and Work in Europe," *European Journal of Education*, vol. 24, no. 3 (1989), pp. 223-247.

differences? Who really shapes and controls such curriculum decisions in German universities compared to U.S. universities?

These three examples illustrate the potential gains of analyzing the underlying factors in comparing national practices. A full analysis would be much richer, but that lies in the future.

3. The Potential for Trans-Atlantic Cooperation and Exchange on Management Issues facing Universities

Throughout Europe, there are indications that the most prevalent European leadership model for universities - based on rectors who are elected for relatively short terms from among the university's faculty - is under strain. The predominant American model - based on presidents who perceive themselves as administrative leaders and, typically, have committed themselves to a long-term presidential career - is a strikingly different model, one that undoubtedly offers both advantages and disadvantages to European observers.

The general question - of what form university leadership should take - could benefit from a full and open trans-Atlantic exchange. What differences in underlying concepts of leadership are exemplified by the two models? What effects do the two models have for the functioning of a university, for the moral and social environment that professors experience, or for the ability of the university to manage its affairs wisely? Such discussion, going beyond the obvious descriptive differences to an analysis of the actual dynamics and implications of such different models, may offer considerable insight of practical benefit to those German unviersities that have moved closer to a "presidential" model instead of a "rector" model in recent years.

Such discussion should be equally as valuable for Amercian presidents, whose own "blinders" limit their sense of alternatives and narrow the questions they otherwise might ask about the costs to the university of the presidential model of academic leadership. Such discussion is especially welcome at present, when many American professors have become vocal in their opposition to what they consider an increasing tendency toward a "corporate" or administrative model for decision-making at American universities. Here, too, trans-Atlantic dialogue would bring out important differences in context: for example, American professors are critical of a recent trend toward decisions about personnel being made at the dean's level rather than by departments; German counterparts, acknowledging that personnel decisions are made, formally, by the education ministries of the länder, might question whether the Americans really face such harshly hierarchical decision-making.

An upcoming management issue for universities, both in the U.S. and in Germany, is the question of whether there will be an adequate supply of trained persons to fill professorial positions once a large number of current professors begin to retire. In Germany, as in other European countries, a rapid pace of recruitment and hiring of university professors accompanied an expansion of higher education in the 1960s and 1970s. In the U.S. a rapid pace of hiring took place earlier, responsive to expanded enrollments in the 1950s and 1960s. For both countries, the potential problems - due to a "bulge" of professors retiring, and too few candidates to replace them - are still largely theoretical and abstract. Even in the U.S., relatively few institutions have begun to experience serious problems in recruiting new professors (except in a few, known "hard-to-recruit" subjects).[6] However, the U.S. is much closer to the time - predicted to begin about 1997 - when large numbers of faculty will retire. The "test" will come sooner for U.S. universities than for European universities.

Trans-Atlantic dialogue could serve a special role in helping university leaders respond adequately to the need for ensuring an adequate number of well-qualified persons to join the professiorate when many openings begin to occur. Accurate understanding of actual impacts is needed, if either country is to get beyond speculation and abstract discussion of the likely effects of a shortage of qualified replacements. The fact that U.S. institutions will have gained experience with the problem earlier than the German universities offers a natural opportunity for practical trans-Atlantic dialogue. Both German and American leaders can learn from and discuss actual experience, especially on how various factors inter-relate or the early effects of various attempts to overcome shortage situations.

Academic planning is another candidate for trans-Atlantic dialogue. Here too, on the descriptive level, the differences are substantial. In the U.S., most universities have put together systematic planning procedures, with staff specially assigned to planning. Titles of vice president for planning are frequently noted at U.S. universities. Strategic planning - an approach that seeks to maximize the use of internal resources in relation to opportunities presented by external conditions - has been popular over the last decade, and many universities have issued glossy reports announcing their strategic plans.

The contrast with European countries is immediately obvious: the locus of planning is most often found at the ministry level. Special studies and long-term planning projects are part of the regular business of education ministries, generally resulting in new plans and, often, proposed new laws.

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6 Elaine El-Khawas, *Campus Trends, 1990* (American Council in Education, 1990).

An analytical approach - comparing the relative impact of these two approaches, the issues that are being addressed, and the solutions advocated - is likely to uncover greater similarities than expected. For the near future, academic planning in both countries will start from severe financial constraints and from an assumption that current structures should continue, sometimes with new options and separate, special-purpose structures; planning can be expected to focus on mechanisms for ensuring quality, for achieving more with less funding, and for providing access to nontraditional students. Indeed, a benefit to trans-Atlantic dialogue is the increased clarity one might achieve in recognizing that, beneath surface differences, academic systems throughout the industrialized world are trying to cope with a remarkably consistent set of constraints, expectations, and demands.

But dialogue and analysis of the differences in planning approaches is also necessary. What are the unique contributions of the decentralized, institution-by-institution model followed in the U.S.? Does it generate more innovative response, more successful response or, instead, a more parochial , self-interested response by the institution? What amount of time elapses under these two different planning approaches, between the time that planning is begun and the time that universities actually respond? What factors best account for the degree to which new plans are adopted and make a difference? What mechanisms of compulsion are followed in decentralized systems, and what voluntary mechanisms are built into centralized planning? How comprehensive and long-term is planning under the two different approaches? Can a hybrid form of planning be envisioned, that would blend the advantages of both the centralized and decentralized approach? Trans-Atlantic dialogue, and exploration of the actual dynamics of the two different approaches, might offer an answer to some of these questions.

4. Conclusion

Yes, there is a need for trans-Atlantic cooperation and exchange. Broadly similar issues - related to costs, quality, and access - are being addressed across many countries, and the urgency and constraints that are encountered also have striking parallels. The slow pace of change that has long been the academic tradition is increasingly challenged. New, more dynamic approaches to problem-solving and to addressing changing conditions are badly needed.

But the need is for more than descriptive comparison, and more than the use of superficial citation of practices in other countries. And for more than one-week study trips leading to sweeping conclusions. New challenges call for

new, and more sustained mechanisms for trans-Atlantic dialogue and exchange. Two new directions are critically needed:

- creation of Trans-Atlantic Forum, a regular mechanism by which policy-influentials from a number of countries can meet to explore common issues in some depth. The meetings must be genuine learning opportunities, focusing not on descriptive differences but on a careful examination of the factors that help explain the success or failure of different approaches to an issue;

and

- development of collaborative trans-Atlantic study projects, in which the tools of social science inquiry can be used to develop better comparative analysis of differences between various higher education systems in their approach to addressing common issues.

The projects and the meetings, ideally, would work in concert. A specific issue might be agreed upon in advance, and work would get underway to prepare careful analyses of existing practice. In turn, meetings of the Trans-Atlantic Forum would allow a venue for full and frank discussion of the issue and of the project results. An iterative process might be valuable, in which project results are discussed at a Forum meeting, resulting in a call for further, more refined study and a later reporting back to the Forum of the new results.

An important first step, however, is to agree on a framework for analysis, one that would incorporate key concepts from social science inquiry - regarding change and resistance to change; differences in power and influence among relevant actors; inter-organizational relations; and other concepts. This, more sophisticated framework for analysis should guide the work of investigators working on joint projects and should also guide the debate of the participants in the Trans-Atlantic Forum.

Change will not happen quickly. But such new approaches should offer better prospect than the current circumstance, in which some attempts are made to learn about academic practice in other countries but that attempt is severely constrained by the intellectual blinders - implicit assumptions, unconscious biases, and misunderstandings - that we all unconsciously carry with us to such attempts at dialogue. A better framework, more sophisticated, in-depth studies, and a means for candid discussion are worthy next steps in making trans-Atlantic cooperation and dialogue more effective.

6

Crossing the Boundary: German Refugee Scholars and the American Academic Tradition

by Karen J. Greenberg

In 1934, the Philosophy Department at Columbia pondered the question of whether or not to try and secure a position in their midst for Paul Tillich. The chairman of the department, Johne Jacob Coss, consideres Tillich to be a scholar who was "as thoroughly informed in the philosophy of religion as anybody in America." But the department, including Coss, did not think it could offer the philosopher of religion a place among themselves. The recent émigré from Germany, they concluded, had not made "an outstanding contribution to philosophy" and seemed unlikely to do so. Meanwhile at Union Theological Seminary there was concern that Tillich, whom Niebuhr had invited as a visiting refugee professor, was too philosophically oriented and not theological enough for the seminary curriculum. The members of the Theological Discussion Group to which he was elected in 1934 found themselves "baffled" by Tillich's ideas. Yet Woodbridge, who had presided over the formation of the Columbia philosophy department had studied in Germany, had imbued his students with a sense of the European philosophical tradition, and had hired them to direct the department after his departure. Still, Tillich's ideas fell initially upon confused ears.

Times change. By the late 1950's, Tillich's thought formed a centerpiece for discussion at the forefront of both theological and philosophical studies. He had obtained a chair, first at Union Theological Seminary and then at Harvard. The term Tillichian had crept into the discourse of prominent philosophers of religion in the United States. His book *The Courage to Be* became a bestseller, riveting the attention of the American academic community and the

American public. By the time of his death, observers could refer to his having transformed the study of both religion and theology in the United States.

What had happened? According to his biographers Wilhelm and Mary Pauck, "America" in the 1950's and "in its own postwar doldrums, no longer bustling with utopian optimism, now gave ear to Tillichian themes to which it had been tone-deaf in the early years of his immigration. There were other reasons: Tillich's language had changed, he was more easily understood, and he had learned how to relate himself to the American way of thinking." In the Pauck's estimation, Tillich's eventual significance to the intellectual community resulted from a process of mutual acculturation between himself and his new colleagues.

The Paucks provide a good beginning for understanding Tillich and through him the intellectual migration as a whole. Certainly their assessment of his experience in the United States comports with that of Franz Neumann who in 1953 delineated the three types of refugee intellectual experiences: he who primarily held on to the past; he who discarded his old ways of thinking and orientation in favor of the new; or he who, in the "most difficult" and "most rewarding" situation, attempted to weld together "new experience with old tradition." Over time, a number of works have expanded upon this theme. The most recent work on the migration, Lewis Coser's *The Refugee Scholar in America* reiterates Neumann's ingredients for success.[1] In general, intellectual historians have concluded that the mixture of the old and the new was in essence a mixture of the theoretical and the experiential/experimental. There was, however, more to the mixture of old and new and that more entailed the contribution which the refugee scholars were able to make to the American educational imagination, that inchoate group of ideas by which individuals within the university system, either presidents or professors or both, describe the intellectual tradition to which they belong.

Tillich was not the first emigre scholar to "baffle" his new colleagues. Nor was he the first to receive public acclaim and a home in the American university system. It is instructive, therefore, to look at the path down which he ambled intellectually, particularly in the early years in the United States, before he found either a secure institutional home or a devoted audience. Alongside other refugee scholars who contributed early in major journals and books to a dialogue with Americans, Tillich provides an illustration of a form of accommodation that had lasting resonance for the American university system.

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1 Wilhelm and Marion Pauck. *Paul Tillich: His Life and Thought*, vol. 1 (New York, 1976), p. 219; Franz L. Neumann. "The Social Sciences," in W. Rex Crawford. *The Cultural Migration: The European Scholar in America* (New York, 1953), p. 20; Lewis A. Coser. *Refugee Scholars in America: Their Impact and Their Experiences* (New Haven, 1984), pp. 12-13.

Tillich came to the United States, reluctantly, indecisively, and at the behest of his American colleague, Reinhold Niebuhr. Columbia's Faculty Fellowship Committee, chaired by Franz Boas, helped arrange his first appointment, a joint position at UTS and Columbia. As such, he, like many of the successful refugee scholars, ventured to the United States in the wake of a former intellectual connection, usually characterized by the presence of a foreign scholar. As we know from the sciences in particular, an intellectual bridge between Europe and the United States had begun to take shape even before the refugees had taken their posts at American universities. Arnold Wolfers' sponsor at Yale was Nicholas Spykman. Similarly, Paul Lazarsfeld was on Columbia University's Committee of Instruction when the committee oversaw the appointments of Arthur Nussbaum and Franz Neumann in Public Law and, as a visiting appointment, Karl Polanyi in economics.[2] Franz Boas, in addition to aiding Tillich, helped bring Margaret Bieber to Barnard.

As much as any other scholar, Tillich was determined to forge a path to success in his new land. He prided himself throughout his life on being a man and a thinker "On the Boundary." He respected the position of living between two worlds, intellectually, emotionally, and otherwise. For him, it was the ultimate dialectical arrangement, the resolution of conflict by existing at the point of intersection. His survival did not come easily. Oftentimes, when recalling his departure, he likened the emigration to the United States to the fate of Abraham."[3] He struggled to learn New York and to learn English. He plunged into the intellectual life of his new country. He was elected a member of the prestigious New York Philosopher's Club, he team taught a course with John Herman Randall at Columbia, he participated in symposia and conferences regularly. After a return trip to Europe in 1937, Tillich accepted the United States as his new homeland. As his vessel approached the New York harbor, he noted in his diary "The ship rocks gently. I am glad that my wanderings are over."[4] During his first year here, he had embarked on the difficult task of writing for an American public. A man who by his own admission was a creature of presence rather than isolation, he preferred to think and perform in public or with a public in mind. For Tillich, as for Hannah Arendt, the art of the conversation was linked inextricably to the art of thinking.

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2 Faculty of Policial Science, Minutes, 18 April 1947 and 21 Nov. 1947, Columbia University, Dept of Political Science, General Papers, Minutes, 1913-56, Columbia University Archives (hereafter CU Archives).

3 Paul Tillich. *The Interpretation of History* (New York, 1936), p. 67.

4 Tillich, "My Travel Diary: 1936," in Jerold C. Brauer. *Between Two Worlds* (New York, 1970).

Reaching out for an audience was characteristic of the early response of successful refugee intellectuals to the harsh fact that their exile would become emigration. Like Tillich they needed an audience, a conversation, a community. By the mid 1930's, articles by the German scholars had appeared in the nation's most prestigious scholarly journals: the Journal of Philosophy, the American Historical Review, the *Sociological Review*, the *Philosophical Review* and eventually, the *Journal of the History of Ideas*. In their articles the refugees demonstrated their determination to establish a dialogue between their work prior to emigration and their new academic community. It was a decision that involved much, perhaps blind courage. Some had brought their notes with them. Others their libraries. But few had the access to resources that they had become accustomed to in the archives and libraries abroad. As an article jointly authored by Paul Kristeller and John Randall pointed out, "Above all, the texts themselves must be physically available, in the utmost completeness," if Renaissance Studies is to have a constructive future in the United States. Referring to the giants of Renaissance philosophy, the writers inveighed, "May we too be given an equal capacity to learn!"[5]

Given the determination to communicate and the frustration over absent materials, the refugee scholars embarked upon a course of informing Americans about the theory and philosophies of their disciplines. Well-schooled in the historiography of their respective fields of study, many of the scholars, during their first decade here, penned one or more such overviews. Some of the early ventures in this regard came at the hand of jointly held American-German pens. Alfred Vagts and Charles Beard surveyed the field of history for the American Historical Review. Paul Kristeller and John Randall examined the course of Renaissance studies. Other refugees braved it on their own. Hajo Holborn at Yale, Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy at Harvard and others presented the study of history. Holborn outlined in historical detail the study of the classics as well. Tillich presented an overview of theological thought. Sometimes the history of a discipline became the focal point of unpublished essays, as in the case of Alfred Schütz's lengthy critique of Talcott Parson's *The Theory of Social Action*.

The latter in an exchange of letters with Talcott Parsons described the importance of philosophy for him. "I did not start my scientific endeavors as a philosopher or logician although these problems had always evoked my deepest interest since my undergraduate days. I came from the most concrete problems of economics and of the theory of law. But I recognized early that

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5 Paul Oskar Kristeller and John Herman Randall. "The Study of the Philosophers of the Renaissance," 4 October 1941, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. II, no. 4.

the theoretical systems of those disciplines cannot be built up scientifically without entering into a scientific study of the structure of the social world and that means of the general theory of social action."[6] Others, Tillich among them, considered themselves to be philosophers from their childhood days. "From the time of my last years at the *Gymnasium*, it had been my wish to become a philosopher."[7]

Whether they were born philosophers or self-created ones, the refugees laid out for American eyes and ears a pantheon of great thinkers whose ideas had inspired their respective disciplines. Tillich's *The Interpretation of History* chronicled the history of theological reasoning from the Greeks to the present day. The Beard/Vagts piece, described "the history of the development of historical conceptions." The authors traced the idea of history for notable Europeans from Voltaire and Goethe to Meinecke and Heussi and Kurt Riezler. Hajo Holborn outlined the development of the craft of history as it grew out of the philosophy of man in Rousseau, Herder and others to German neo-classicism and the new insights it offered into the "process of history and the nature of historical civilizations." In particular Holborn focused on the advances made by Barthold Georg Niebuhr for Rome and August Boeck for Greece. He used his survey to convey the need to include as source material - "the objective forms of civilizations, like language and literature, the arts, sciences, philosophy, law, the state, the economy." Elsewhere, Holborn described the way in which history, rather than being seen as a "humanistic endeavor" as the Greeks and their German heirs conceived of it, followed scientific models instead. "Historical and scientific methods are as different as the physical and the human world," he wrote in 1949 as part of a discussion of Dilthey. Across a variety of fields, then, including sociology, history, renaissance studies, art history and theology, the refugee scholars presented their distinguished predecessors.

The refugees' first articles and books insisted upon the importance of that philosophical heritage for present day scholarship. It was Tillich's goal he declared in 1936 in his first book published in English to bring about a "reunion of philosophy and theology".[8] "Philosophy and history are closely joint together" so Hajo Holborn set out to convince his audience in 1948 in a paper

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6 Alfred Schütz to Talcott Parsons, 17 March 1941, in Richard Grathoff (ed.). *The Soical Theory of Action: The Correspondence of Alfred Schütz and Talcott Parsons* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1974), p. 102.

7 Tillich. *The Interpretation of History*, p. 30

8 Ibid., p. 35.

he delivered at Princeton.[9] He himself surveyed both the history of the study of the classics and the emergence of modern critical history. Alfred Schütz, finding himself to his chagrin involved in a nasty debate with Talcott Parsonss, kept trying to make the point, as inoffensively as possible, that philosophy was as integral to the study of social action as any other component. Schütz found himself frustrated by the fact that Parsons refused to engage the "logical and philosophical foundations upon which a correct methodology of the social sciences must be based." As Maurice Natanson has so correctly pointed out, for Schütz methodology and theory were both "necessarily philosophical."[10] As a result Schütz spends much thought and energy trying to present to Parson and others the importance of philosophy to the discipline of sociology. In Natanson's word, "What divides the two men... (is) the meaning of philosophy for social science."[11] Schütz describes his need to use not only Weber and Pareto but philosophers as well, Bergson and Husserl, "hoping to find there the tools for working the field of the most concrete problems of social sciences." Defending his approach, Schütz wrote, "I insist that any statement made in the field of social theory has to be at least consistent with and explicable by means of the whole body of well-established philosophical knowledge."[12] To make his point that philosophy was integral to history, Hajo Holborn began with Thucydides. Referring to Thucydides' twenty-second chapter of the first book of the *Peloponnesian War* where the great Greek historian defines critical history, Holborn pointed out, in defense of his assertion that there is a philosophy of history to be understood, "Practically every word in these sentences is charged with a philosophical meaning."[13]

The emphasis upon the philosophical tradition was clear in the courses the scholars offered. As soon as the emigres arrived, their unique contributions to the American academy became clear. Their course titles outside of philosophy departments stood out markedly from those of their new colleagues. This remained true throughout the 1940's as the contributions of Franz Neumann and Arthur Nussbaum at Columbia demonstrate. While other members of the public law department taught legal methods courses, Neumann offered a se-

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9 Hajo Holborn. "History and the Humanities," JHI, Jan. 48, vol. 9, pp. 65-69.

10 Richard Grathoff. *The Theory of Social Action*, p. x.

11 Grathoff, ibid., p. xi.

12 Alfred Schütz to Talcott Parson, 17 March 1941, Richard Grathoff (ed.). *The Theory of Social Action* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1978), pp. 95-106.

13 Hajo Holborn. "Greek and Modern Concepts of History," *JHI*, January 1949, vol. 10, pp. 3-13.

minar on the "History and philosophy of international law." Holborn, ensconced in a rather traditional history department at Yale, encouraged his students to learn about "The Idea of Progress". Meanwhile, when Tillich finally did receive his chair at Union Theological Seminary, a new position had to be created, one which recognized the field of philosophical theology.[14]

Often the odes to the philosophical aspect of each discipline included a statement, either implicit or explicit, about the lapses in American scholarship and thought. According to Alfred Vagts and Charles Beard, Americans had little conception of the varieties of historical conception and had "no philosophy of history; they want none; they distrust it."[15] "Few of our universities, it seems, offer courses in the history of historiography or pay much attention to what the historian thinks he is doing..." Beard and Vagts also pointed out that American views of history lagged behind those of Europe. Kristeller and Randall noted, more gently, the absence of much American input in the study of Renaissance philosophy, but made no sweeping statements condemning the thought of their new land. In discussing the relative contributions of Americans to Renaissance studies, the authors noted a general American rejection of German *Kulturgeschichte* and a preference for particularity rather than the investigation of "'the Renaissance'as a whole or a 'type'". The authors recognized the importance of the "idealistic movement" in producing works in the history of philosophy, but noted that these scholars - Royce at Harvard and Thilly and Creighton at Cornell - "paid no special attention to the Renaissance thinkers."[16] Tillich, Holborn and others refrained from criticizing their new colleagues. In 1935, Tillich explained to the Emergency Committee for Displaced German Scholars which helped arrange Tillich's appointment in the United States, that he did not want to criticize his new colleagues because of the risk that he would "make angry" his American friends. In general, the refugee scholars eyed their American colleagues with the gentle criticism reserved for those to whom they were grateful and about whom they were curious. Those approached, as Tillich had been, to contribute essays describing their views of

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14 "Announcement of the Faculty of Political Science," Columbia University, 1949-50; "References on the Idea of Progress," Hajo Holborn Papers, Series I, Box 2; Wilhelm Pauck and Marion Pauck. *Paul Tillich*, p. 176.

15 Charles Beard and Alfred Vagts. "Current Trends in Historiography" *American Historical Review* 42 (1937-38): 464.

16 Kristeller and Randall. "The Study of the Philosophies of the Renaissance," p. 496.

American scholarship, refused, even though the man asking was the young, charmingly attractive and bright Edward R. Murrow.[17]

Overall, the early essays, irrespective of discipline, referred to virtually the same texts and network of ideas, most of which came out of the German intellectual tradition. Some began with discipline-specific references, as Holborn did with Thucydides and Meinecke or Schütz with Weber, but the refugeé articles made it clear that there was an intellectual tradition that began with Kant, extended to Cassirer and included Kierkegaard, Hegel, Dilthey, and Marx. Tillich made as many references to historical tradition as did Kristeller and Holborn. Holborn referred frequently to philosophers. In other words, these essays made it clear that the refugee scholars shared a common discourse that was hardly divided by discipline.

To some extent, Americans found the emphasis on philosophy as a language for academic study alienating. As the Columbia philosophy department had maintained, many were simply "baffled". The United States had its teachers of philosophy and its own philosophical tradition, but the insistence of the refugee scholars on a firm knowledge of the European philosophico-historical tradition did not always fall on welcoming ears. If the book reviews in the journals for Psychology, History, Sociology and even Philosophy are any indication, the Americans throughout the 1930's and 1940's, when these first refugee scholar essays appeared, reacted negatively to the "abstruseness," the "narrow specialization" and the overgeneralizations of the refugee scholars.

It is possible that a divide between those who were intrigued by the intellectual tendencies and immersion in philosophy of the refugee scholars and less-philosophically minded Americans might have persisted without cross-fertilization, without a real dialogue. However, the refugee scholars, even the most philosophically minded among them, did not allow that to happen. And their decision to overcome any such impasse was clear even in these early essays.

How did they reach out? A final characteristic common to the essays of the early period was a declaration of potential similarities between the German and the American intellectual heritage. Throughout his career in the United States, Tillich continued to emphasize the likenesses between himself and his colleagues. As he wrote to John Herman Randall, his colleague at Columbia,

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17 E.R. Murrow to S. Duggan, 24 May 1934; E.R. Murrow to W. Beck, 23 January 1935; E.R. Murrow to M. Palyi, 31 January 1935; E.R. Murrow to A. Wolfers, 31 January 1935; P. Tillich to E.R. Murrow, 26 January 1935; M. Palyi to E.R. Murrow, 29 January 1935 and R. Ulich to Murrow, 31 January 1935, Papers of the Emergency Committee, Box 153, "Symposium, 1935".

"I don't see that there is much difference between you and me."[18] Just as the refugee scholars insisted on the importance of their own tradition for Americans, they also cast about for Americans who might fit into their lexicon. They seemed aware from their earliest days of the need to find illustrations and counterparts in the American past. As a part of their presentation, both in their writings, in their correspondence and in their classes, the refugee scholars cast about for those similarities. Commonly, they listed practitioners of their respective disciplines and were careful to include American thinkers. According to Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, "Kant has not interest whatever in pragmatic history. Yet he cares for tradition; he could have said, like Santayana: 'Those who can not remember the past are condemned to repeat it.'" In the beginning of his "Existential Philosophy" Tillich attempted to note the points of contact between the existential philosophers and the thought of others, including Americans. "Like Bergson, Bradley, James, and Dewey, the 'existential' philosophers are appealing for the conclusions of 'rationalistic' thinking, which equates reality with the object of thought..." Tillich wanted to include the Americans in his list of thinkers. So did Holborn. In his 1940-41 syllabus for "The Idea of Progress" at Yale, he mingled American texts with European ones. Of 29 references, one-third of the texts were by Americans. These latter included Dewey and Henry Adams. From Harvard, Eugene Rosenstock-Huessy, in his article "The Predicament of History" which appeared in the *Journal of Philosophy*, sprinkled his talk on memory and history with allusions to American events and personalities. At the New School for Social Research, Alfred Schütz took Alvin Johnson's advice about the American limitations in theory and the abstract realm. He substituted the context of James, Dewey, Whitehead, Mead, Cooley, and Thomas for Husserl.[19] Even where philosophy was not necessarily the point of discussion, refugee scholars recognized the importance of using American references to teach American students. In rejecting an article for *The American Political Science Review*, Arnold Wolfers once noted that "the author is apparently of German origin, judging less from his style and method, than from his lack of knowledge of the American literature on the subject. ... As a result, the article covers a well-known ground but falls to bring the subject up-to-date. I don't see how the 'evolution' of geopolitics can stop short of MacKinder, Spykman, Sprout, Gottman, and others, and yet be of interest to American political

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18 Paul Tillich to Jack Randall, 20 February 1957, John H. Randall Papers, CU Archives.

19 Grathoff. *The Social Theory*, pp. xiii-xiv.

scientists."[20] Sometimes, the interest to American thinkers led to more sustained examinations. Felix Gilbert dwelled on the ideas that materialized in the Revolutionary War. Hannah Arendt reconstructed the ideas of the Founding Fathers.

Yet sprinkling the American thinkers into their historiographies was more of a gesture than a true ode to American intellectual life. During the war years, theirs remained a European world. Their footnotes provided one clue to the thinkers they found influential and important. Seldom did an American citation appear. Occasional allusions to Americans rarely demonstrated a deep familiarity with the thoughts of that writer or scholar. Often, once these refugee scholars got into the midst of their discussions, they did not refer either frequently or substantively to Americans. Nietzsche, Heidegger, Jaspers, and Bergson become the chief figures in Tillich's presentation on the varieties of existentialist thought. Holborn's footnotes, even when he wrote generally about the field of history continue to be European and specifically German sources. When he directed his students toward current American journal articles, the references were primarily to articles by European scholars.

Still, however weak or forced, the gesture was significant for, over time, as the refugees became increasingly a part of the American university system, it gained strength. Their perspective derived its importance, however, not just from contemporary circumstances but from the context of the American university's century-long involvement with the ideal of German scholarship. For more than a century, those who had designed graduate education had desired to approximate the level of academic thought sustained in Germany since the early nineteenth century. When nineteenth century American educational reformers - George Ticknor, George Bancroft and later Daniel Coit Gilman and Andrew White and others - praised the structures of German higher education and urged their adoption in the United States, they did so in the hopes of importing for their students an immersion in thought, a love of the book and of learning and a facility with the Western philosophical and historical heritage that they had first had exposure to abroad. But Americans who sought to bring German-style education to the United States learned over time that in addition to actual structures and ideas, it was of equal importance that any borrowed forms be legitimately understood as appropriate to the United States, in other words, not merely as imported German constructs. Ticknor and Bancroft were resented at Harvard for their insistence on the superiority of German standards and practices. Bancroft's telling phrase, "Thus we do in Germany" had

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20 Arnold Wolfers to Harvey C. Mansfield, June 1956, "Selected Letters," 1933-47, Box 1, Arnold Wolfers Papers, Yale University.

alienated students and faculty alike. Tappan had lost the support of the state legislature in Michigan for seeking funds for a "Prussion" system of higher education. Andrew White, the first President of Cornell and Daniel Coit Gilman, who established the Johns Hopkins University, learned from their predecessors. Gilman's *The Launching of a University* denied throughout that the Johns Hopkins was German. Despite the fact that the seminar-style of teaching and the laboratory were chief ingredients of the school and that he referred in his inaugural address to the principle of freedom of inquiry as a basic right in his university, a right institutionalized in Germany, Gilman played down German influences. White, who later became ambassador to Berlin, insisted as well that Cornell was not a German university. It was White who had ascribed Tappan's failures at Michigan to that fact that the members of the legislature "wanted an American and not a Prussian system". Having studied in Germany, he praised German scholarship in an article entitled, "German Instruction in German History", admired Tappan's German-style reforms at Michigan and modelled the Cornell Idea on a commitment to modern literature and freedom from denominational control - both identified with Germany. White's denials, like Gilman's, suggested less a reluctance to identify with Germany than an independence from what had become for Americans the mentor nation. Any associations with the German scholarly tradition received their death knell with the First World War. John Burgess at Columbia provided a case in point. Burgess was initially content to acknowledge the existence of a German model for the curricular revisions he introduced at Amherst College and then at Columbia University. But once the war broke out, he altered his version of the story.

The refugees' approach to the question of Germany's influence upon the United States, complete with its philosophical component, captured American attention. The fact that it did so had much to do with the intensity of the regard for Germany which a century of admiration had fostered. If the nineteenth century educational reformers had tried to introduce on American shores the aura of the German university life while simultaneously recognizing the importance of labelling any borrowed structures and methods as American, the refugee scholars seemed willing to help Americans in that direction. What Tillich set out to accomplish for their own peace of mind - the construction of an intellectual system in which the old belonged in the new - resonated deeply in American ears. Other refugee scholars adhered as well to Tillich's pattern of intellectual accommodation. Unwittingly, the refugees brought to life old dreams, dreams that had revived and intensified in the 1930's as Americans recognized the passing of the great German tradition at the hands of the Nazis.

It was not surprising, then, that Americans seized upon such offerings with eager acceptance. If they were "baffled" by the philosophical nature of the refugees' intellectual presentations, they were nevertheless intrigued by the possibilities of legitimizing the right to label German scholarly tendencies and accoutrements as Americans. Oft-times, they used the refugee scholars to reinforce that idea. German characteristics now, through the presence of the refugee scholars, had a home in the United States. Randall considered Tillich the direct successor of Heidegger. Holborn was viewed increasingly as the successful continuation of the tradition illustrated by Meinecke. Schütz was regarded as a spokesperson for Weber. Cassirer was seen as the heir in many ways to the entire German philosophical tradition.

Over time, Americans appropriated these scholars whenever they could, as Americans. *Festschriften* for the refugee scholars commonly demonstrated this tendency. In *The Responsibility of Power*, Holborn's students attested to the importance of the United States rather than of Germany for the development of his ideas. "From an American perspective," declared Fritz Stern and Leonard Krieger, Holborn wrote not only *The Political Collapse of Europe* but *The History of Modern Germany* as well.[21] "A distinguished line of historians," according to Krieger, "extended from the Greeks' Thucydides to (America's) own Holborn."[22] Armed with the philosophy of history, Holborn had made his mark as an American. Elsewhere, Americans searched to place the refugees within their nation's intellectual context. A book on Tillich entitled *The Theology of Paul Tillich* was the first in a series of works on leading American theologians.[23] As one professor of theology noted, Tillich, with his emphasis upon combining theology and philosophy, promised to restore the American tradition from the "great days of Royce, James, Dewey, and Santayana".[24] To his mind, the union of philosophy and theology seemed, with Tillich's impetus to be an American phenomenon.

Above and beyond, then, the mixture of the old and the new, of European philosophy and American empiricism was a more subtle and intangible transfer; namely, that of the term German for the label Made in America. Not only Americans who followed the teachings of the eminent representatives of the

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21 Fritz Stern and Leonard Krieger, "Introduction," *Central European History* 3 (1970): xiii.

22 Leonard Krieger, "The Formation of Sovereign Power," *Central European History* 3 (1970): 14.

23 Pauck and Pauck, *Paul Tillich*, p. 229.

24 Walter Horton to Jack Randall, 27 December, 1958, John Herman Randall Papers, Box 5, CU Archives.

European tradition, but the refugees themselves had reached the status of being Americans, even if, as with Tillich, they did not arrive until they were fifty. Through the refugee scholars, educators in the United States finally brought to an end a century launched by Emerson when he declared in his 1837 "American Scholar", that the time had come to sever their cultural dependence in Europe. The confidence instilled by the refugees' presence and by their message about continuity between the two traditions inspired Americans to think, alongside Harvard's President Pusey that as of the 1960's American scholars could "praise ourselves as Germans once praised themselves."[25]

The refugee scholars thus provided a further chapter in a story long in progress: the story of American attempts to incorporate aspects of the German academic tradition into its own academic setting. In contributing that chapter, they made for themselves and the tradition they represented a firm and lasting home. If Americans ceased to be "baffled," the refugee scholars ceased, as Tillich had, to wander without the promise of an intellectual home.

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25 Nathan M. Pusey. *The Age of the Scholar: Observations on Education in a Troubled Decade* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 163.

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Comparing German and American Higher Education: Some Examples

by Henry Wasser

An axiom in the comparative approach to higher education is that the motive for looking abroad is either to prove or to reject something for one's own system. One observer, for example, hast postulated that a group of Germans might look to American higher education institutions for characteristics it wants implemented in Germany, such as the openness of the American system for all to move from one discipline to another according to the individual's ability and desire, thus reacting to what it considers rigidities in the German system (Frackman 1990).

While there is truth to this notion, the historical and contemporary relationship between the two systems is more complex. Simply responding to the other system's success or strength where one's own has failed or is weak is often superseded by genuine innovation and advance in the other to be followed, modified and imitated by one's own.

My purpose is to enumerate several issues which suggest some of these complexities in the present and future mutual impact of the German and American higher education systems, topics that might prove worthy of further comparative investigation.

The first has to do with *Fachhochschulen* and Community Colleges. One analyst notes that the *Fachhochschulen*, neglected by the press, have been unable to acquire corporate identity and suggests that misinformation concerning their function and accomplishment is pervasive. Yet *Fachhochschulen* have more than one-fourth of the enrollment in post-secondary education with only one twentieth of research funds for that sector. They apparently work well with

regional chambers of industry and commerce and are substantially into science and technology transfer, especially with medium-sized companies.

Moreover close connections have been developed with polytechnic universities or equivalent in the rest of Europe in which the short length of courses and tightly organized curricula compared to such in universities are particularly attractive.

The additional argument is made that industrial and commercial companies obtain up-to-date knowledge less expensively than from universities, and that the *Fachhochschulen*'s being more application oriented results in a more efficient research and development structure.

American community colleges have one or two year vocationally and technologically oriented programs whereas *Fachhochschulen's* courses of study are more often three to four years long. The more than 1,000 community colleges vary greatly in objective, program, quality and size. Some are primarily vocational and at a level not considered post-secondary in Germany or other European countries - dental hygiene receptionist, mortician assistant, apartment safety inspector, gardener, and the like.

Others are at a fairly high technological level, sufficient to transfer to an engineering college. General transfer rate to university, while low, appears to be much higher than in Germany. In size community colleges may range from 700 in upstate New York to 100,000 in several campuses at Miami-Dade in Florida which encompasses the whole range of vocational training to pre-university professional preparation.

To start, most often according to the Association of Community College Governing Boards, an economic impact model is developed to justify expenditures to the public authorities by arguing for the primary and multiplier effects of the income paid to college personnel. The revealed preference for establishing a college is made in the political process through which such an institution is eventually commissioned. This preference is the justification for public expenditure.

Moreover, community colleges for several decades have served a "cooling out" function i.e. as an outlet for heavy pressure to enroll in the more prestigious universities. This "cooling out" function now seems to operate in some degree with respect to overcrowding and pressure to matriculate at German universities.

Another point of comparison is the state of the professoriate or more precisely academic staff in both systems of higher education. Hans Joas claims that the German system for selecting new generation academics hardly ever did justice to the criteria of performance and capability. Historically he discovers plutocratic prerequisites for existence as a *Privatdozent* and political and racist prejudice and nepotism influencing appointments. This, he writes,

contrasted with the organization of American colleges and universities which bureaucratized research in terms of division of labor and subordinated innovation to curriculum (Joas, 1990). He, however, ignores the long chronicle of low salaries, required independent income for professors in elite American universities and wide-spread restriction of appointment to preacher/minister relatives in the early years of church-funded colleges.

Another contention is that those employed in the German university have not had participation rights. The positions of assistants, originally intended solely to be support for professors in teaching, research and administration increasingly were used to absorb *Privatdozenten* and even associate professors.

Even today it is thought that crowded universities serve merely to expand low-level and temporary positions to a disproportionally large degree. Yet current critics assume that structurally speaking, the German university is moving toward its American counterpart which, it is asserted, does have effective mechanisms for guaranteeing differentiation within the teaching and research body.

An additional point of comparison is to note different compensatory and managerial strategies in coping with austerity in higher education in the Federal Republic of Germany and U.S.A. Where practically all conceivable designs have been used somewhere in the more than 3,000 American post-secondary institutions, Germany has been selective. It did not increase fees directly or indirectly, search for new clientele, try to increase contract research funds, lay off tenured personnel, let contracts to external agencies, use research funds for operating expenses, or increase teaching loads. However, Germany did follow the customary procedures of endeavoring to increase research funds utilizing peer review, not filling vacancies, transforming positions after vacancies, increasing class size, closing programs and departments, reducing frequency of maintenance and number of services, increasing early retirement possibilities, reducing purchase of books and facilities for assistants, and not replacing equipment or restoring buildings (Crespo, 1989).

In the period of expansion, however, Germany in moving from a restrictive, elite mode to varied patterns of mass higher education enlarged the existing university sector partly by funding new universities and partly by developing alternative educational structures. More practically and vocationally oriented forms of higher education than those in the universities emerged, and the *Fachhochschulen* began to constitute a major counterweight to the traditional universities.

This process of differentiation continues and constitutes the biggest change in higher education since the development of research function in universities following Humboldt's reform in Germany in the 19th Century (Gellert, 1989).

West Germany, then, like most nations, did not opt for short cycle *within* conventional universities - internal differentiation, and comprehensive as in

Sweden and CUNY but *for* overall diversification of the whole system through development of institutions outside the traditional university sector. This brought rapid expansion of an already existing post-secondary non-university sector and upgrading of institutions from secondary to post-secondary levels.

A student from a *Fachhochschule* to qualify for an ordinary undergraduate place in the university sector must first have successfully finished a complete degree program of three or five years at his institution.

In contrast to American university systems, the German universities have always been state agencies in a very direct sense. But this lack of autonomy may make them more responsible, e.g. ministerial bureaucracies admit students regardless of catastrophic space, research, teaching or living conditions where universities could decide for themselves how many to admit and in which ones the likelihood is for restriction (Gellert, 1989).

The central question remains as to whether diversification fits the various ambitions and abilities of students in an integrated system of mass higher education as in CUNY which attempts under one governing board, one Chancellor, one University Faculty and University Student Senate to have a symbiotic relationship among its various structures - unity out of diversity. Or is it a means of protecting excellence in university by expanding non-university sector as in the distinctly three tiered university state college and community state college system in California or the loosely stratified as in SUNY's system with its university centers, university colleges, four year technical colleges and two year community colleges?

Likely items on the list for comparison are strengthening management capabilities of rectors, presidents, vice-chancellors and their administrative apparatus, and establishing systems of measuring the performance or "outcome" of higher education on their departments, concepts disseminated by the Institutional Management in Higher Education program of the OECD. These developments appear to have a strong impact on policies and research in Western European countries including importantly the Federal Republic of Germany. Moreover, they have been heavily influenced by views and traditions of the higher education system prevailing in the United States so far as institutional management, the role and the potential effects of institutional initiatives of higher education are concerned (Teichler, 1990). And institutional structural differences are moreover revealed in the circumstance that hierarchy of executive administrators with more powers inherent in the stratified positions and weaker faculty senate authority is characteristic of American as contrasted to German universities.

Significant opinion exists in Germany that opposes placing long term higher education institutional development as hostage to consumerdom so prevalent in the U.S.A. Where higher education may be categorized as state, academic

oligarchy or market dominated (Clark) to which is added civil society (Neave), the German still adhere in significant fashion to that complex concept of *Bildung*. Even the E.C. paralleling the continuing divestiture of certain functions previously located in national administration to regional or local with divestiture from national to European Community to provide legal basis for ERASMUS, COMETT, LINGUA, TEMPUS et al. defines higher education simply in terms of professional and vocational training, not *Bildung* (Frackman, 1990).

However, the dominant German research university in the nineteenth century seems to have been succeeded by the dominant American research university of the twentieth century. Indeed, there have been recommendations from the German Science Council that universities enable a majority of students to earn a degree in shorter time (duration of studies has been a key anxiety in German higher education), put into effect the research principle of unity of research and teaching by establishing sections of post-graduate studies and disentangle university teaching and research and "new blood" education for research, i.e. more or less following the American system of graduate/-post-graduate education.

But many in the German university community were reluctant to follow these recommendations which they believed suggest making a considerable part of teaching less research-oriented, perhaps forcing some faculty to teach more so that others could be free for more research or post-graduate teaching, as has happened in American universities. They did not think these changes would fit into the self-perception of the German university professor or into the concept of the traditional German research university.

Nevertheless the problem of prolonged studies remains serious for the German universities, especially after the single Europe labour market post-1992. It is useful in this connection to cite the City University of New York, the third largest higher education system in the U.S.A. with 200,000 students. In the late 1960's CUNY's students were largely sons and daughters of factory workers, civil servants, and small merchants, largely white, in their late teens or early 20's who completed their studies in four or five years.

Today only 37 % of the university's students are white, 31.5 % black, 22.5 % Hispanic and 8.6 % Asian. A majority are older than 22 years, 43 % attend part-time because they work full-time or are rearing children. Many take 9 or 10 years to graduate with only 27 % of the university's baccalaureate students graduating within even five years and only 38 % within eight years (N.Y. *Times*, April 15, 1991).

While the German expansion has widened access to middle and lower class groups, the universities do not confront the same racial and ethnic diversity. And prolongation of studies seems to be attributed to the desirable life of the student, although this reason may have become problematic given crowded liv-

ing conditions, the rigidity of curriculum, difficulty of program transfer and general procedure within German higher education.

Contrasts can be multiplied. Sizeable income differentials according to educational level indicate a strong demand for college-educated labor in the U.S.A., and stimulate people to enroll at college with consequent high enrollment figures. In Germany there seems to be a consensus of belief that society would make much better use of the achieved qualifications resulting from educational expansion if salary scales were less rigid and if income differences between college-trained persons and other parts of the labor force were reduced (as in Sweden). In practice, however, this flattening of salary differential proceeds at a slow pace (Teichler, 1990).

German observers have remarked the low level of education found in the bottom half of higher education in the U.S.A. and the widespread feeling that only the top 10-15 % of students have access to quality higher education. The less prestigious part of undergraduate education lacks the desired calibre. In Germany there appears to be more concern that education for the top 15 % be improved.

A recent cogent analysis reminds us of distinction between European emphasis on academic achievement and curriculum as a *Gestalt* and American interest in supporting personal maturation, broadening students' capacity for reflection and socializing them to cope with hitherto unknown or in the large cities' too well-known environments, people and tasks (Opper, Teichler, Carlson, 1990).

Moreover, whereas the federal system in both nations suggests certain similarities of structure, even of financing, the German system focuses, as do other European countries, on debating, if not strengthening, the decentralization process; in the U.S.A. momentum is toward bureaucratic centralism at the state and national level. Thus where Western European Countries, perhaps more in Sweden than in Germany, are moving to decentralization, America leans toward centralization.

Another instance of symbiotic relationship lies in recent history: the *Gruppenuniversität* in Germany of the 1970's brought about and institutionalized reforms (now rolled back) where in contrast the universities in the United States came through their difficult times without experiencing any profound institutional remodeling. Even now radical curricular reform advocated and consummated, such as multi-cultural programs, seems to have little effect on the structure of American universities. It has even been suggested that the minimal structural university change in U.S. during and after the upheavals helped to return the Gruppen to modified traditional German universities.

The concept of the *Gruppenprinzip*, it is claimed, was mainly a German innovation in democratic governance grounded in the belief that the university is

composed of various groups of persons who should have an equal say in all university matters. This concept never really caught on in the U.S.A. although there is occasional student influence on appointments to faculty and administration. Despite the great diversity of higher education practices in the United States, there are few instances where co-determination affected the substance of institutions. On the other hand the transformation of German higher education from small scale to mass universities appears to have been generally influenced by the earlier evolution in American universities.

Finally, I return to the Community College/*Fachhochschulen* comparison. The community college system which has been characterized as the only major innovation in American higher education since the Flexner report and consequent development of the research and professional university has from the beginning had the mission of providing the first two years of higher education comprising general and liberal education as well as occupational and technical education curricula. It combined these goals in one institution with a prescribed geographical area under one administrative framework. To be sure, transfer enrollment in liberal education courses has steadily declined since 1975.

The *Fachhochschulen* curricula assume general and liberal education acquired during study for the *Abitur* or *real* equivalent and extends occupational and vocational training to three or four years, differing from its American counterpart. Transfer to university is possible but more difficult than in the U.S.A. Whereas the desire to transfer has diminished in America, in Germany though not easily attained, transfer to university from *Fachhochschule* is the goal of many enrollees.

In U.S.A. community participation in the two year colleges is pervasive and in governance is achieved through local boards of trustees who select the President, establish policy and exercise budgetary review. Local advisory committees assist in program planning and implementation especially as regards occupational education. Needs assessment surveys and analysis of data from community institutions are used in further development of relevant programs. Little of this seems to occur for the *Fachhochschulen*. However, both post-secondary systems have faculty as a source of community involvement using part-time instructors who are employed full-time as professionals, craftsmen and artisans in the community.

Finally it may be noted that while *Fachhochschulen* and community colleges may serve similar functions such as "cooling out" at a time of enrollment pressure and occupational and vocational training of a quality to produce middle-level technicians, they differ in accord with national styles in higher education - centralization within *Länder* and federally within Germany, community control in U.S.A. which in turn results in civil servant status for the one and market

supply and demand in the other or *Länder* strategic planning versus community master plan formulation. And both are subject to "academic drift", the pressure toward conformity and subordination to universities.

But each may therefore learn from the other in overcoming tribulations by adopting a successful tactic from its counterpart such as the community involvement of the one and the civil servant respect of the other.

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8

Study Abroad: Students' Perceptions and Experiences

by Ulrich Teichler

1. Introduction

The predominant aim of this presentation is to inform on the students' views:

How do students perceive U.S. and German higher education as well as U.S. and German culture and society in general? What are the experiences of students participating in study abroad programmes and the impact of studying abroad both for students from U.S. and German universities and for students going to U.S. and German universities? How does the character of study abroad programmes, which reflect to some extent the characteristics of the respective higher education systems, shape the experiences and the impacts on the part of the students?

The information is taken from the "Study Abroad Evaluation Project" undertaken in the mid-eighties. We should bear in mind that the project included not only U.S. and German, but also British, French and Swedish study abroad programmes and students.

Initially, the survey and the programmes will be explained. The presentation then will focus on goals and motives, perception of characteristics of higher education, experiences and problems students faced during the study abroad period, opinions on higher education, culture and society of the host country, and finally impacts of study abroad.

2. The Study Abroad Evaluation Project

During the 1980s, a group of scholars joined in analyzing study abroad programmes which promote mobility between institutions of higher education in the United Kingdom, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden and the United States. The selection of programmes to be addressed predominantly referred to support schemes for study abroad programmes: the European Community's "Joint Study Programme" scheme, the "Integrated Study Abroad" scheme run by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), and the Swedish "Internationalisation of Higher Education" programme. The U.S. programmes surveyed were not shaped by a specific support scheme; however, they had very much in common along the lines of the concept of programmes for the 'junior year abroad' which became popular in the U.S. during the 1950s.

The two major reports of this research project were published in 1990 in two volumes (Burn, Cerych and Smith 1990; Opper, Teichler and Carlson 1990). The major findings of the research project were published also in German putting emphasis on German programmes and students (Teichler, Smith, and Steube 1988; Teichler and Opper 1988). A further book addressed solely the U.S. programmes and students surveyed in the research project (Carlson et al. 1990). A subsequent publication compared study abroad programmes and participating students according to types based predominantly on the support schemes (Teichler and Steube 1991).

The Study Abroad Evaluation Project aimed, first, to describe the broad spectrum of existing study abroad programmes. The second aim was to evaluate the outcomes of the study abroad programmes: Do the programme arrangements function well, and what problems are visible in this respect? What educational, linguistic, cultural, and professional impacts do they have on the participating students? The third objective for the research project was to explore potential causes for the nature and degree of success achieved by the programmes and their participants.

Among the large number of surveys conducted between 1983 and 1986 the central ones were the following. First, a written questionnaire - with follow-up interviews of key persons of the programmes (subsequently called "programme directors") - was administered in 1983/84 which provided a detailed data base on numerous facets of their programmes. Second, a longitudinal survey was undertaken of study abroad participants 1984/85 who were each sent a questionnaire before and after their sojourn. Third, a survey was conducted of study abroad graduates, requesting information primarily on their careers and asking them to assess the subsequent utility of knowledge acquired during

their study abroad period. Written questionnaires were employed in Europe, and telephone interviews in the U.S.

The project comprised 82 programmes whereby 'programme' was defined in this case as a direction of exchanging students (this definition was necessary in the context of the research project because arrangements and conditions are not identical for different directions of exchange for different partner institutions, if cooperation comprises more than two institutions of higher education). It addressed students participating in these programmes between 1983 and 1985 as well as some former students. 416 students had responded to both to the questionnaires sent before and after the study period abroad.

3. Study Abroad Programmes: Definition and Characteristics

During the last few decades, many institutions of higher education in industrialized societies tried to promote cooperation with institutions of higher education in other countries in order to arrange temporary periods of study abroad. The term "study abroad programme" seems to be appropriate for arrangements with the following four components.

- Study abroad programmes are negotiated arrangements between two or more institutions of higher education in two or more countries (rather than ad-hoc cooperation).
- Study abroad programmes regularly provide students of any institution an opportunity to study at one or more of the partner institutions (not just occasional exchange).
- Study abroad programmes comprise an organisational and educational infrastructure aiming to ease mobility and to promote successful educational experiences abroad (not merely a regular provision of student exchange).
- The study period abroad, at least in part, should comprise a component of the course or degree programme in which each student was regularly enrolled at the home institution (successful study abroad is at least partially recognized as a substitute for study at the home institution).

Despite these common elements in contrast to individual mobility and unstructured student exchange, the study abroad programmes which have emerged in the last few decades are extraordinarily diverse. They might be organisationally based on university level or on departmental level. They might address a single field of study or students from various or all fields. Participation might be optional or a required element of certain course programmes. Exchange of students might be unilateral or reciprocal. Periods of study abroad and timing of the study period abroad in the course of study might differ. Some programmes offer only study abroad, others add work placement peri-

ods abroad. The arrangements might comprise fellowships and waiver of tuition fees. Students might study abroad in courses specifically provided for foreign students or alongside students of the host institution. Curricular arrangements might reach from complete freedom of choice to programmes abroad completely determined in advance. Programmes might clearly focus on academic issues or might have a broader scope whereby improvement of foreign language proficiency, understanding of the host country, cultural enrichment and personality development might be emphasized. Preparatory courses and foreign language programmes might be part of the total programme. Finally, some programmes might have very specific features such as expecting students to study in more than two countries, expecting students to graduate in another country than the one in which they began their studies, even leading to a double degree, i.e. degrees conferred concurrently at the home and the host institution.

Among the programmes referred to in the survey, several were provided financial support by the Commission of the European Communities under the name "Joint Study Programmes" (this scheme was replaced by the ERASMUS programme in 1987). The modest funds made available to cooperating departments or institutions of higher education should as a rule for a few years contribute to institutional expenses for study abroad programmes - notably those incurred in an early stage of the project, not, however, to student scholarships. Organised arrangements for study abroad in this framework focussed on individual fields of study (most frequently business, engineering, foreign language, and law studies) whereby in most cases very elaborate measures were taken regarding information about the study abroad programme, preparation for the period abroad, curricular arrangements, organisational support for the sojourn, assessment of achievement as well as recognition upon return. Cultural enrichment and improvement of foreign language proficiency were emphasized in addition to academic and professional objectives, not however to the extent they are stressed in the U.S. programmes surveyed.

Most programmes provided mutual exchange of students and aimed for a high degree of curricular integration and a more or less complete recognition upon return. More than two thirds of the Joint Study Programmes surveyed here comprised mandatory study periods abroad for students of a field of study or at least a sub-specialization at the respective institutions of higher education. Most programmes in business studies included work placement periods abroad as well. Some programmes led to degrees concurrently awarded by the home and the host institutions, and some required students to graduate in another country than the one they began their studies.

Other programmes surveyed were supported in the framework of integrated Study Abroad Programmes of the German Academic Exchange Service. In the late 1970s, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) launched this scheme with funds from the German Federal Ministry of Education and Science (BMBW). In particular, scholarships are provided for a number of years to cover the students' additional costs of the study period abroad. Staff travelling costs could be made available in addition to facilitate the negotiations of initial agreements with partner departments and with a view to securing recognition of the study abroad period after participants' return. The support arrangements require only unilateral arrangements because the funds serve German students, and only recognition of study abroad upon return to Germany has to be assured.

Some programmes limit their activities towards arrangements with partner institutions which may send a small number of students regularly and towards some general regulations of recognition whereas other programmes have more elaborate organisational and academic arrangements. Several departments establishing IAS programmes had clear concepts about a proper use of the study abroad period for the acquisition of knowledge abroad as a creative contrast to that taught at home. As a rule, German IAS programmes emphasized strongly the academic value of study abroad in terms of theories, methods and factual knowledge, whereas improvement of foreign language proficiency and cultural enrichment were as a rule only secondary objectives.

Finally, the U.S. study abroad programmes surveyed are mostly an outgrowth of the movements during the early postwar period to provide for students the opportunity of a 'junior year abroad'. The universities established special offices for student exchange which serve in most cases all fields of study and arrange partnerships with various institutions abroad. Care is taken in detail for organisational arrangements of preparation, travel, organisational matters abroad, accommodation, guidance and extracurricular activities abroad, possibly recommendation about courses to be taken abroad, as well as regulations of recognition of credits acquired abroad. In some cases, a tutor (possibly commissioned from the U.S. university) and administrative staff at the host institution are in charge of the U.S. students while abroad. Participation in study abroad programmes frequently takes place in the second or third year of study and is mostly optional. A very strong emphasis is placed on cultural enrichment, whereby the credit system and the curricular openness of many undergraduate course programmes allow for a high degree of flexibility regarding the content of study abroad.

All U.S. study abroad programmes surveyed provide for two-way exchange of students, although some U.S. institutions accept fewer students from their partner institutions than they send. However, contrary to the JSP programmes,

the U.S. programmes do not strive for reciprocity of exchanging students within the same course programmes or even for the development of joint curricula.

4. Programmes' and Students' Goals and Motives

Asked about the impacts the respective study abroad programme is expected to have on the participating students, programme directors surveyed exposed quite divergent thrusts. As Table 1 shows, more emphasis seems to be placed in German exchange programmes on improved academic performance and enhanced career prospects. On the other hand, U.S. programmes seem to expect enhanced understanding of home country as well as acquaintance with subjects not offered at home more often as the impact of study abroad. Obviously, cultural enrichment, social skills, and personality development are

Table 1
Strongly Expected Impacts of Study Abroad Programmes on Students - According to the Programme Directors, by Home Country (in percentage of programmes)*

Type of expected impact	D	US
Improved communication with foreigners **	96	100
Individual development	100	100
Improved oral/aural foreign language proficiency	96	92
Improved knowledge of host country	88	100
Improved written foreign language proficiency	80	92
Enhanced awareness of international dimensions of subject area	88	75
Acquaintance with different scholary approaches and teaching methods	68	75
Enhanced career prospects	76	42
Enhanced awareness of need for international understanding	80	100
Increased belief in need for European integration	66	***
Enhanced understanding of home country	52	100
Improved academic performance	64	33
Acquaintance with subjects not offered at home***	36	75

* Scores 1 or 2 on a scale from "1 = very strongly expected" to "5 = not expected at all"
** The sequence of categories does not correspond to the questionnaire but rather to a rank order according to replies.
*** Not included in the U.S. version of the questionnaire.
Source: Programme Questionnaire SAEP C 8.3 (C II 211-223)

most strongly expected from study abroad in the case of U.S. programmes than in the European programmes surveyed.

Students were asked about their motives for participation in study abroad programmes. The replies presented in Table 2 show many similarities to the expected impacts on the part of the programme directors. For example, a higher proportion of German students hope to get better marks after the return from the study abroad period and expect that the study abroad period will enhance their career prospects, whereas participants of U.S. programmes strongly expect cultural enrichment from their study abroad period. Most wish to know and to understand the host country, to view their home country from a comparative perspective, and to travel abroad in the context of the study abroad programme.

Table 2
Students' Motives for Studying Abroad, by Home Country
(in arithmetic means)*

Motive	D	US
Desire to use/improve a foreign language	1.2	1.1
Desire to live in/make acquaintances from another country	1.4	1.3
Desire to enhance the understanding of the particular SAP host country	1.9	1.5
Expectation that the SAP would improve career prospects	1.8	2.4
Desire to travel (e.g. SAP offered convenient/cheap means of going abroad)	2.8	1.8
Desire to gain another perspective on the home country	2.7	1.8
Desire to become acquainted with teaching methods other than those adopted at the home institution	2.6	3.2
Desire for break from usual surroundings	2.8	3.9
Desire to become acquainted with subject matter not offered at home institution	3.2	3.4
Expectation to get better marks/examination results after return from SAP	4.1	4.5
SAP afforded opportunity to establish ties with family/ethnic heritage	4.3	3.9
Other friends were going	4.4	4.5
No special reasons (e.g. it was required for the degree programme)	4.6	**

* Students were requested to rate the importance of each aspect on a scale from 1 = "very important" to 5 = "not at all important"

** Not included in list of items in US version of the questionnaire

Source: Pre-Study Abroad Questionnaire SAEP D 31 (D 333-347)

5. Higher Education at Home and Abroad

Students were asked to compare the academic learning climate abroad to that at home. They rated the extent to which certain features were strongly - or not at all - emphasized at their host institutions and at their home institutions. Table 3 provides information on

- how higher education in the individual countries is perceived by incoming students from all the other countries (i.e. the left column in each grouping of three columns per country, in the Table);
- how students perceived higher education in their home institution (middle column in each grouping of three); and
- how students who were sent from any country perceived higher education abroad; in this case, "abroad" is a combination of the various host countries (right column in each grouping of three).

Table 3 indicates, first, the extent to which students of a certain country experienced a different learning climate abroad as compared to the learning climate at home (comparison of middle and right columns). Second, one notes the extent to which the learning climate in a certain country is perceived similarly or differently by all the incoming students, as compared with the way students from that country characterise it (left and middle columns).

The British institutions reportedly emphasize written communication skills and rather active student initiative. These institutions are weakest in having students use foreign language publications and in utilising oral examinations as a form of student assessment. (Multiple choice tests hardly exist in any of the four European countries.)

Incoming study abroad participants perceive that French institutions stress teachers as the main source of information, lectures as a predominant form of instruction, and written essay examinations as a prevalent mode of assessing students' performance. Overall, French institutions also place relatively strong emphasis on marks. On the other hand, out-of-class communication between students and teaching staff and having students develop their own points of view are least emphasized.

German institutions reportedly give strong credence to students' independent work, their using the library, and producing written papers as a basis for assessment of their learning. There is a pronounced theoretical orientation to the curriculum, and for the times students meet their professors, a decided emphasis on professors lecturing. There is minimal emphasis on having instructors regularly monitor student achievement through frequent tests or keeping track of class attendance; and there is little interaction out-of-class between students and teaching staff.

Table 3
Features of Academic Learning Climate at Study Abroad Participants' Host and Home Institutions, Assessed for Extent of Emphasis by Incoming and Outgoing (Home) Students, by Country (in arithmetic means)*

	D inst. viewed by		D outgoing view on	US inst. viewed by		US outgoing view on
	in-coming	out-going	host inst.	in-coming	out-going	host inst
Orientation of course content						
Acquiring facts	2.8	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.0	2.9
Understanding theory, concepts	2.3	1.8	2.5	2.1	1.8	2.3
Develop applied knowledge	3.0	3.0	2.2	2.1	2.6	3.3
Methodology of inquiry	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.8
Views different schools thought	2.9	2.7	3.4	3.0	2.4	2.6
Comparative perspectives	2.4	2.9	3.0	3.5	3.1	2.1
Interdisciplinary approaches	3.4	3.2	3.1	3.1	2.7	3.4
Acad. credit, practical experience	3.3	3.2	2.8	2.8	2.7	3.4
High quality courses	2.6	2.2	2.5	2.2	1.9	2.7
Learning resources						
Library	2.2	2.1	2.4	2.0	2.3	2.6
Laboratory facilities	3.1	3.5	3.2	2.6	2.4	3.1
Foreign language publications	2.4	2.7	3.5	4.2	4.0	2.4
Instructional/learning modes						
Lectures	2.3	2.6	1.9	1.9	1.4	2.0
Seminars	2.4	2.8	2.6	3.0	3.0	2.5
Tutorials	3.4	3.3	2.9	3.6	3.1	2.8
Group study/projects	2.7	3.2	2.7	3.1	3.4	3.2
Individual study/projects	2.5	2.9	2.7	2.1	2.4	2.4
Laboratory work	3.5	3.2	3.4	2.4	2.7	3.2
Teacher-assigned texts	3.0	2.7	2.6	1.8	1.4	3.0
Regular class attendance	3.7	3.9	1.6	1.9	2.0	3.3
Teachers as main info source	3.2	2.2	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.5
Tchrs regularly monitor students	4.0	3.3	1.8	1.9	2.3	3.7
Adherence to deadlines	3.1	2.0	2.2	2.0	1.8	3.1
Tchr/Students talk out of class	3.6	3.5	2.5	2.0	2.3	3.4
Students choose study areas	2.7	2.4	2.8	2.1	2.3	3.1
Students active class discussion	2.5	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.3	2.8
Stud. challenge each other acad.ly	2.9	3.0	3.0	2.6	2.7	3.1
Students develop own views	2.6	2.8	3.0	2.7	2.4	3.0
Project work/written papers	2.4	2.6	2.2	1.9	1.9	2.2
Independent work	2.1	1.9	2.5	2.1	2.5	2.2
Writing/communication skills	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.8	2.2	2.2
Assessment						
Overall emphasis on grades	3.2	2.3	2.0	1.5	1.6	3.2
Oral examinations	2.5	2.8	3.1	3.0	4.3	2.4
Written essay examinations	2.6	2.6	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.9
Multiple choice tests	4.5	3.7	3.8	2.9	2.7	4.5
Evaluation of written papers	2.2	2.8	2.1	2.2	1.8	2.0

* Scale from 1 = "strongly emphasized" to 5 = "not at all emphasized"
Source: Post-Study Abroad Questionnaire SAEP F 8, 9, 10 (F 213-324)

The U.S. is seen to give great weight to lecture classes, to instructor-assigned texts and reading lists, regular class attendance and instructors' regularly monitoring students' achievement (through written essay exams); at the same time, students work together on projects, write papers and must make frequent use of the library. Students are quite preoccupied with working for good grades. Features which are less prevalent in the American institutions are tutorials as a form of instruction, the use of foreign language publications, and cultivation of international, comparative perspectives.

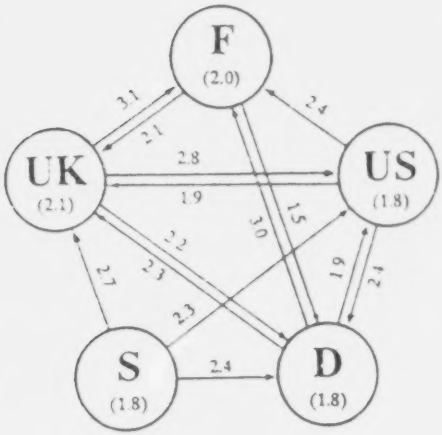
Swedish institutions seem to stimulate least students' active participation (in choice of study areas, class discussion, developing their own points of view, independent work, writing/communication skills). Somewhat surprisingly, adherence to deadlines and teacher monitoring are not strong features, either. Little emphasis is placed on assessment by written examinations, evaluation of written papers; and altogether the emphasis on grades is perceived to be low. Swedish students find reading foreign language publications is emphasized at their institutions.

It is remarkable that there are far more perceived similarities between the home and the host institutions than differences. Further, the ratings of incoming students to a country essentially corroborate the perceptions of the same country's home students in assessing the emphasis in higher education in that country. Finally, students perceive stronger differences in instructional style, learning modes and resources and assessment practices, than in the orientation of course content.

Nevertheless, some slight variations in emphasis on content can be detected. Courses at French institutions are comparatively less theoretical than in the other countries. Acquiring facts is comparatively more emphasized in the French and American courses. Development of applied knowledge is relatively strong at British and American institutions. International, European and inter-cultural perspectives are less prevalent in the USA, strong in Germany and Sweden. Finally, high standards in course quality are reported for all institutions, but the USA is rated as particularly strong in this respect.

Diagrams 1-3 provide the opportunity to view the degree of consistency in the way that students discern the emphasis at their host institution as a function of the students' perception of contrast with the conditions they experienced at home. As Diagram 1 shows, German and U.S. students viewed emphasis on theories, concepts, and paradigms at their home institutions equally strong (both 1.8, as the figures in the circles show). Whereas German students perceived an emphasis of theories in the U.S. as strong as in Germany (1.9 as the figure linked to the respective arrow shows), U.S. students rated emphasis of theories at German institutions of higher education lower (2.4).

Diagram 1
Study Abroad Participants' Assessments of Emphasis on Understanding Theories, Concepts, Paradigms at Host and Home Institutions; Home-Host Institution Pairs by Country (in arithmetic means)*



* Scale from 1 = "strongly emphasized" to 5 = "not at all emphasized"
Assessment of home country is presented in circles, those of the host country to the arrows, whereby the direction of the arrows represents the home --> host relationship.
Source: Post-Study Abroad Questionnaire SAEP F 8 (F 312-324).

A more consistent finding is illustrated in Diagram 2 and Diagram 3. Out-of-class communication between students and teachers and instructor-assigned use of text books and reading lists are by far more strongly emphasized in the U.S. than in Germany both according to the home and host students' perceptions.

Diagram 2
Study Abroad Participants' Assessments of Emphasis on Out-of-Class Communication between Students and Teaching Staff at Host and Home Institutions; Home-Host Institution Pairs by Country (in arithmetic means)

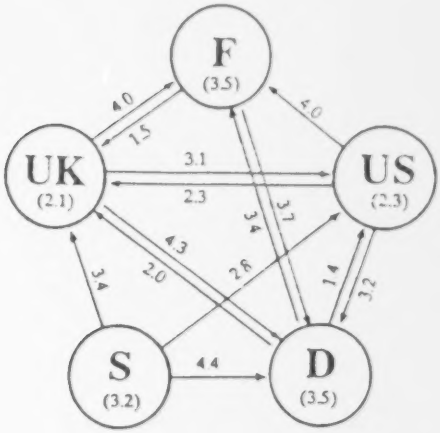
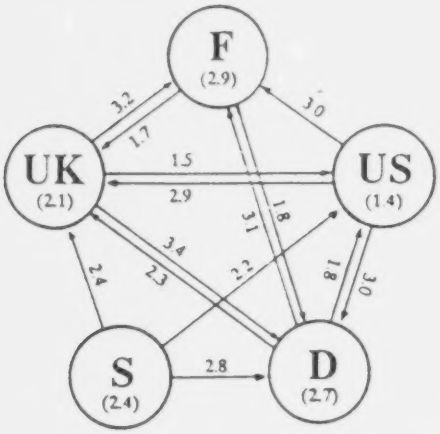


Diagram 3
Study Abroad Participants' Assessments of Emphasis on Instructor-Assigned Text Books/Reading Lists at Host and Home Institutions; Home-Host Institution Pairs by Country (in arithmetic means)



6. Experiences and Problems Abroad

Students were asked to report what kind of special academic activities they undertook abroad. The categories provided refer to contrasting academic experiences abroad as well as to changes of academic emphasis of study resulting from the experience abroad. The replies are documented in Table 4. German students stated more often than U.S. students that they used facilities abroad not available at home and that they developed a new area or specialization during the study abroad period. The U.S. students by far more often took language course while abroad.

Table 4
Students'Activities for Academic Enhancement During the Period Abroad, by Home Country (in percentage of students)*

Type of academic enhancement**	D	US	Total (5 countries)
Take courses involving content/topics not available at home	64.8	66.2	68.8
Take courses involving teaching methods not available at home	69.0	54.7	59.7
Take courses to broaden academic/cultural background	63.4	74.8	59.0
Take language courses in host country language***	16.6	54.7	30.7
Utilize laboratories or other facilities not available at home	35.9	11.5	22.8
Take language courses in other language than of host country	24.8	18.0	19.2
Develop new area of specialization	22.1	0.0	16.8
Change an earlier chosen specialization	15.2	12.9	10.8

* Multiple reply was possible
** The sequence of categories does not correspond to the questionnaire but rather to a rank order according to replies
*** Other than intensive foreign language programme arranged as part of SAP
Source: Post-Study Abroad Questionnaire SAEP F 7 (F 173-180)

Table 5 shows that the students' reports about problems they experienced abroad are not closely linked to programme characteristics and students' prior motivation. Some U.S. students seem to miss features of higher education accustomed to at home. They reported more problems abroad concerning lack or quality of guidance in academic matters abroad as well as more problems regarding administrative matters. German students wished they had had more time for travel linked to their study period abroad. Obviously, U.S. students

realized their wishes to travel in the framework of study abroad, whereas German students - previously less eager to travel in this context - afterwards regret that they did not have or did not seek much of a chance for travel in the host country.

Table 5
Problems Faced by Students during Their Study Abroad Period, by Home Country (percentage)*

Type of Problems	D	US	Total (5 countries)
Too much contact with people from other country**	23.0	33.3	28.6
Differnces in teaching/learning methods (between home and host institutions	22.4	25.9	23.4
Administrative matters	14.9	26.5	20.9
Readiness on part of teaching staff to meet and/or help foreign students	10.3	16.6	15.2
Guidance concerning academic program	5.3	26.1	15.0
Not enough time available for travel	25.5	3.6	15.0
Accommodation	18.2	7.9	13.6
Finding a place to concentrate on studies, outside the classrooms	19.4	8.8	12.1
Financial matters	11.6	8.7	12.9
Interaction among/with host country students	7.8	16.7	11.6
Differences in class or student project group size	2.1	6.6	10.0
Academic level of courses	7.8	-	8.6
Climate, food, health etc.	5.2	14.4	8.5
Taking courses/examitations in a foreign language	5.3	8.7	7.3
Guidance concerning nonacademic matters	4.0	9.8	7.0
Lifestyles of nationals in host country	3.9	10.1	6.0
Communication in a foreign language outside the classroom	8.6	2.7	4.8
Not enough contact with people from your own country	3.3	0.7	2.6

* Scores 1 or 2 on a scale from 1 = "very serious problems" to 5 = "no problems at all"
** The sequence of categories does not correspond to the questionnaire but rather to the rank order according to replies.
Source: Post-Study Abroad Questionnaire SAEP F22 (F613-630)

7. Opinions on Culture and Society of the Host and Home Countries

In general, people's attitudes and interpretations of other countries, their people, culture, politics, and living conditions may range from xenophilia to xenophobia, even in situations where people are quite familiar with other countries. Consequently, the process of acquiring knowledge and experiences might lead to changes of opinion, but one cannot exclude the possibility that these experiences will have quite diverse effects. A person's feelings of empathy might grow in accordance with experience, or attitudes might become more negative, as a result of discovering problems about which a foreigner is usually oblivious upon first encountering the country in question. It is also possible that opinions might become more diverse as the knowledge base becomes more solid.

Table 6
Opinions about Culture and Society of Study Abroad Host Country and of Home Country Before and After the Study Abroad Period, by Home Country (in arithmetic means)*

		Home country D		US		Total (5 countries)	
		Host	Home	Host	Home	Host	Home
Post secondary or higher education	Before	2.8	2.8	2.1	2.1	2.5	2.4
	After	2.9	2.4	2.8	2.0	2.8	2.3
Governmental foreign policies in general	Before	3.3	2.7	2.7	3.4	3.1	3.0
	After	3.3	2.8	2.9	3.7	3.2	3.0
Treatment of recently arrived immigrant groups	Before	3.7	3.7	3.3	3.2	3.5	3.4
	After	3.8	3.5	3.8	3.1	3.7	3.4
Cultural live (e.g. art, music, theater, literature)	Before	2.2	2.4	1.7	2.3	2.0	2.4
	After	2.1	2.4	1.5	2.4	1.9	2.4
Television, radio, newspapers, magazines	Before	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.5
	After	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.4
Customs, traditions	Before	2.5	2.8	2.1	2.7	2.4	2.7
	After	2.7	2.7	1.9	2.6	2.3	2.6
Social structure (e.g. family, class system)	Before	3.3	2.7	2.8	2.8	3.1	2.8
	After	3.6	2.5	2.9	2.8	3.2	2.7

* Scale from 1 = "highly positive opinion" to 5 = "highly negative opinion"
Source: Pre-Study Abroad Questionnaire SAEP D 41 and 42 (D 511-524) and Post-Study Abroad Questionnaire SAEP F 27 and 28 (F 726-743)

In this study, students were asked to state their opinions about various aspects of the country in which they spent their study period abroad, and then about their home countries. As Table 6 indicates, there are neither exceptionally positive nor very negative opinions about the host and home countries. Changes during the study abroad period are also marginal on average. The attitude toward home country became slightly more positive after study abroad than it had been before, but the difference was not statistically significant.

However, there are several noteworthy differences among the individual aspects. Cultural life (art, music, theatre, etc.) as well as customs and traditions abroad tend to be viewed more favourably - both before and after the study abroad period - than those at home, though attitudes toward the home country are also positive in these respects. On the other hand, the social structure of the home country is viewed - on average across these five countries - more positively than that of the host country, both before and after the study abroad period. Even though it would be misleading to say that study abroad fosters feelings after the sojourn that things are better at home, there are nevertheless three aspects about the host country which students tended to view more negatively than the corresponding aspects at home. One that is especially pronounced concerns higher education. A considerable number of students apparently became disappointed with higher education in the country of their study abroad experience. This slightly more negative view was also evident for the host country's foreign relations and its policies on the treatment of recently arrived immigrant groups.

Students' opinions about the various aspects of politics, society and culture presented in Table 6 show that German students on average hardly changed opinion about their home country or their respective host countries, with the exception of greater appreciation of German higher education upon return. Both before and after the sojourn, they viewed the foreign policy and social structure of their respective host countries much more negatively than those elements at home.

American students viewed cultural life, customs, traditions, and foreign policies of their host countries more favourably than those at home. This was true both before and after their study abroad period. Not so for higher education in their respective host countries in which many American students were quite disappointed.

Table 7 provides an overview of the extent to which the Americans participating in the study abroad programmes under evaluation here differ from students who did not participate. In the case of the comparison group, they were asked to state their opinion about the foreign country they knew best. On average, views on foreign countries hardly differed between the American

study abroad participants and the students of the American comparison group, before as well as after the one group's study period abroad. The participants had a more positive view of cultural life in the host country before they went abroad, which was also evident afterwards. In regard to foreign policy, they had a more positive view before the stay abroad than after. Concerning higher education and social structure abroad, the appreciation of the host country declined on the part of the study abroad participants to the extent that it was less favourable than that of the comparison group.

Table 7
U.S. Study Abroad Participants' Opinion about Culture and Society of Study Abroad Host Country and Home Country Before and After the Study Abroad Period in Comparison to U.S. Non-participating Students (in arithmetic means)*

		On foreign country		On home country	
		SAP-participi-pants	Non-participi-pants	SAP-participi-pants	Non-participi-pants
Post secondary or higher education	Before	2.2	2.2	2.1	1.8
	After**	2.8	2.5	2.1	1.9
Governmental foreign policies in general	Before	2.7	3.0	3.4	3.0
	After	3.0	3.1	3.7	3.1
Treatment of recently arrived immigrant groups	Before	3.3	3.0	3.3	3.2
	After	3.8	3.1	3.2	3.2
Cultural life (e.g. art, music, theater, literature)	Before	1.7	2.0	2.3	2.0
	After	1.6	1.8	2.5	2.4
Television, radio newspapers, magazines	Before	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.3
	After	2.3	2.8	2.5	2.1
Customs, traditions	Before	2.0	2.0	2.6	2.6
	After	2.0	1.8	2.6	2.6
Social structure (e.g. family, class system)	Before	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.7
	After	3.0	2.6	2.8	2.8

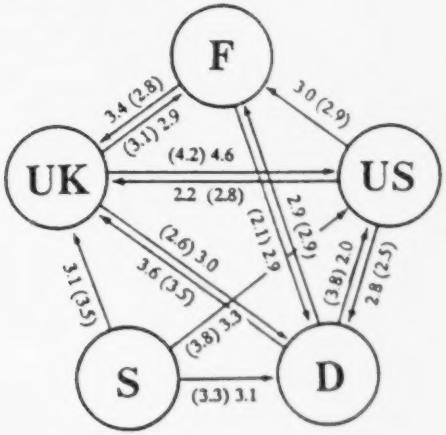
* On a scale from 1 = "highly positive opinion" to 5 = "highly negative opinion"

** In the case of the U.S. non-participants: replies to the follow-up survey about one year later.

Source: Pre-Study Abroad Questionnaire SAEP US D 30 and Post-Study Abroad Questionnaire SAEP US F 36

Diagram 4 shows that German students viewed U.S. foreign policy rather negatively prior to study abroad period. Upon return, they had a quite favourable view (change from 3.8 to 2.0 on a scale from 1 = "very positive" to 5 = "very negative"). U.S. students had a more positive view of German foreign policy before they went abroad. Afterwards, they rated German foreign policy slightly less favourably (2.5 and 2.8).

Diagram 4
Students' Opinion about Host Country Governmental Foreign Policies, by Home Country (in arithmetic means)*



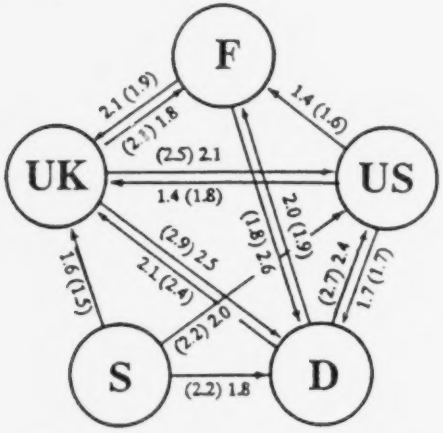
* Scale from 1 = "very positive" to 5 = "very negative"
The direction of the arrows represents the home ---> host relationship. Figures in brackets refer to opinions prior to the study period abroad, those without brackets to opinions after the study period abroad.

Source: Post-Study Abroad Questionnaire SAEP F 8, 9, 10 (F213-324)

U.S students assessed cultural life in Germany both before and after the study period more positively (both 1.7) than, in reverse, German students did the cultural life in the U.S. As Diagram 5 shows, this gap narrowed slightly during the study period abroad (from 2.7 to 2.4). Similarly, U.S. students view customs and traditions in Germany more positively than German students view customs and traditions in the U.S. Again, this difference was slightly smaller after the study period abroad. Media - television, radio, newspapers, magizines - in Germany, too, were rated more positively by U.S. students than media in

the U.S. by German students. In contrast to the previous findings, these differences grew because, as Diagram 6 shows, German students rated U.S. media more negatively upon return.

Diagram 5
Students' Opinion about Host Country Cultural Life (in arithmetic means)*



German students assessed the social structure in the U.S. more negatively than U.S. students did the German social structure. As Diagram 7 indicates, these views did not change on average during the study period abroad.

Before the study period abroad, U.S. students viewed German higher education more positively than German students did U.S. higher education. During the study period, the American students' views on German higher education became more negative and German views on U.S. higher education more positive. Thus, as Diagram 8 shows, U.S. students rated German higher education less positively after the study period abroad than German students did U.S. higher education.

Diagram 6
Students' Opinion about Host Country Media (Television, Radio, Newspapers, Magazines) (in arithmetic means)*

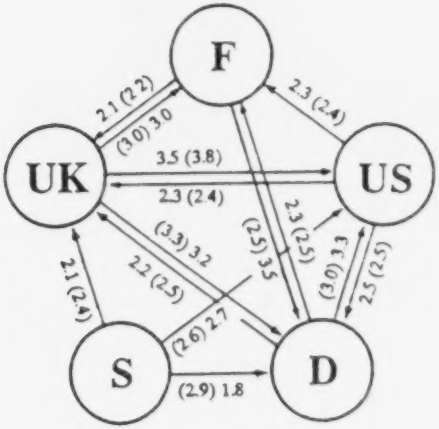


Diagram 7
Students' Opinion about Host Country Social Structure
(in arithmetic means)*

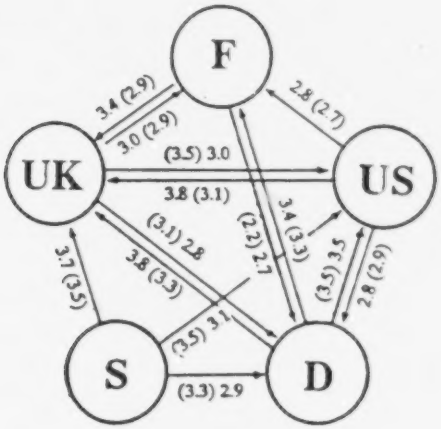
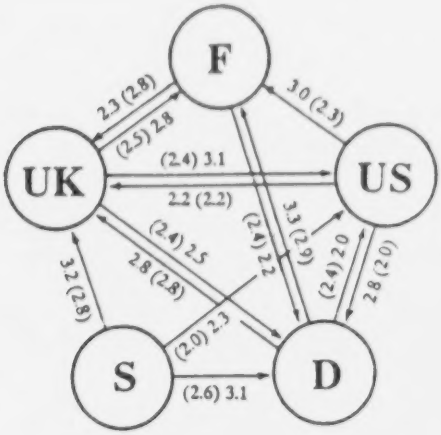


Diagram 8
Students' Opinion about Host Country Post-secondary or Higher Education (in arithmetic means)*



Altogether, opinions relating to individual aspects in the five countries surveyed changed in many cases as a result of the period abroad. The opinions finally emerging, however, do not necessarily contradict conventional wisdom in pointing to appreciation of French cultural life, British media, German customs and traditions, Swedish social structures, and American universities.

8. Assessment of the Impacts of the Study Abroad Period

Functioning in a foreign higher education system by mostly using a foreign language, coping with different teaching and examination styles, facing different content of courses, and requiring adaptation to another social environment could certainly lead to lower academic achievement during the study abroad period than during a corresponding period of study at home. The participants of study abroad programmes in the five countries surveyed estimated their academic progress abroad to be somewhat higher than academic progress at home - on average 2.6 on a scale from 1 = "academic progress abroad much greater than at home" to 5 = "academic progress abroad much less". Whereas 25 percent came to the conclusion that their progress abroad was lower than it would have been at home, 52 percent considered their achievement abroad

higher than it would have been during a corresponding period at home. On average, U.S. students rated their study progress abroad more favourably (2.3) than German students (2.6).

In addition, students were requested before and after the study abroad period to rate their level of knowledge in several dimensions of the political and social milieu of the host country. As Table 8 shows, prior to the study abroad period, students did not consider their knowledge about the host country to be very extensive. Arithmetic means ranged from 2.6 (on geography) to 3.4 (treatment of recently arrived immigrant groups), on a scale from 1 = "extensive knowledge" to 5 = "very minimal knowledge". Following the sojourn, their knowledge about all aspects had increased substantially: by 0.6 on average, with a range from 0.4 to 0.9. On a five-point scale, this obviously represents considerable improvement. To illustrate this in another way, prior to the period abroad, 37 percent of the students thought they were well informed (scale points 1 and 2) about politics in the host country. This percentage had nearly doubled (63%) after the period abroad. The greatest increase of knowledge was reported in regard to higher education in the host country, on the other hand there was a relatively low increase with respect to the economic system and the geography of the host country.

German students felt better informed about politics and the economy of the host country both before and after the study period abroad, whereas U.S. students were better informed about the cultural life, customs, and traditions of the host country, On average, U.S. students considered themselves slightly less informed about the host country prior to their sojourn, but reported the highest increase of knowledge on their host country during their study period abroad, thus catching up in the level of knowledge. The stronger cultural emphasis of U.S. programmes as well as the stronger motivation of U.S. students regarding cultural enrichment in opting for a study abroad programme in fact seems to lead to stronger corresponding impacts.

Prior to study abroad, German students rated their foreign language proficiency higher according to most dimensions addressed - reading, writing, listening, and speaking competencies both in academic and non-academic contexts - than the American students. At the end of study abroad, the Americans continue to rate lower in most respects, but the differences are obviously smaller than before.

Asked in which respect the students considered their study abroad period worthwhile, we note that German students considered the study abroad period somewhat more frequently worthwhile regarding career prospects than students from other types of programmes. Participants of U.S. study abroad programmes on average rated the value of the study abroad higher than Ger-

Table 8
Knowledge about Various Aspects of Host Country Before and After the Study Abroad Period, by Home Country (in arithmetic means*)

Problem		Home Country D	US	Total (5 countries)
System of post-secondary or higher education	Before	2.9	2.7	2.8
	After	1.9	1.8	1.9
Political system and institutions	Before	2.7	3.2	2.9
	After	2.1	2.4	2.3
Governmental foreign policy in general	Before	2.6	3.4	3.1
	After	2.2	2.8	2.6
Governmental policy toward your own country	Before	2.4	3.0	2.8
	After	2.2	2.3	2.4
Dominant political issues	Before	**	**	**
	After	2.0	2.3	2.3
Treatment of recently arrived immigrant groups	Before	3.5	3.4	3.4
	After	2.6	2.4	2.5
Economic system	Before	2.7	3.2	3.0
	After	2.3	2.7	2.6
The country's geography	Before	2.5	2.7	2.6
	After	2.1	1.9	2.2
Social structure (e.g. family, class system etc.)	Before	3.0	2.7	2.8
	After	2.2	1.9	2.2
Dominant social issues	Before	**	**	**
	After	2.3	2.1	2.2
Customs, traditions (including religious)	Before	3.2	2.8	3.0
	After	2.3	2.1	2.3
Cultural life (e.g. art, music, theater, cinema, literature)	Before	3.1	2.5	2.8
	After	2.4	2.0	2.3
Sports, leisure/recreational activities	Before	2.9	2.9	2.9
	After	2.4	2.3	2.4

* Scale from 1 = "extensive knowledge" to 5 = "very minimal knowledge"
** Item was not included in Pre-Study Abroad Questionnaire.
Source: Pre-Study Abroad Questionnaire SAEP D 39 (D 465-475); Post-Study Abroad Questionnaire SAEP F 25 (F 713-725).

man students did, as Table 9 shows. They more highly appreciated the travel opportunities abroad, break from usual surroundings, new perspectives on their home country as well as acquaintance with ethnic heritage than German students did.

Table 9
Valuable Impacts of Study Abroad Perceived by Students
(in percentage)*

	D	US
Exposure to other teaching methods	70	60
Exposure to other subject matters	49	59
Grades after study abroad period	22	35
Travel opportunity	77	97
Career prospects	80	66
Acquaintance with people in another country	98	96
Foreign language proficiency	96	97
Perspective on home country	67	93
Knowledge of host country	86	97
Acquaintance with ethnic heritage	22	41
Break from usual surroundings	59	90

* Multiple reply was possible.
Source: Post-study abroad Questionnaire SAEP F 52 (F 935-945).

Since recognition of study abroad as part of the course programme at the home institution is considered to be one of the key aims of study abroad programmes, students were asked whether their study at the host institution was fully recognized upon return by the home institution. Actually, three quarters of U.S. students responded affirmatively. In contrast, only 46 percent of the German students expected recognition of all their academic achievements abroad.

Table 10 seems to indicate an even lesser degree of recognition. Only 36 percent of the German participants of study abroad programmes surveyed did not expect to prolong their studies because of the study period abroad in contrast to more than half of the U.S. students. Table 12 shows, however, that U.S. students assess the study abroad programme in this respect clearly less favorably than French students and slightly less favorably than British students.

Table 10
Possible Prolongation of Studies in Higher Education Due to Study Abroad Period, by Home Country (in percentage of students)

Extent of prolongation likely	UK	F	D	S	US	Total
None	69	82	36	57	56	53
Prolongation up to 1 semester	-	-	39	23	23	23
Prolongation more than 1 semester	26	18	23	17	20	22
Not known	5	-	2	3	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Post-Study Abroad Questionnaire SAEP F 41 (F 819)

9. Conclusion

Study abroad programmes - i.e. negotiated arrangements between partner institutions aiming to provide the opportunity to study a period abroad at a partner institution, whereby an organisational and educational infrastructure designed to support study abroad is expected to contribute to the integration of the study abroad as a more or less regular component of the home institution course programme - at U.S. and German institutions of higher education have much in common. Study abroad programmes are expected to serve academic enhancement, to improve foreign language proficiency, to contribute to cultural enrichment and personality development, and eventually to promote the participants' subsequent careers. There are, however, obvious differences as regards the emphasis placed on those dimensions, as the research project discussed shows. U.S. students are more strongly expected to improve foreign language proficiency and to experience cultural enrichment, whereas academic impacts and career advantages are more likely to be expected on the German side. Actually, programme directors' expectations, participating students' motivations, selected learning activities, and eventually perceived impacts largely match in those respects.

German students consider higher education in the U.S. to be more heavily based on instructor-assigned texts, regular class attendance and regular monitoring of achievement. Out-of-class communication between students and teachers seems to be more common in the U.S. than in Germany. German students rate emphasis on theories and U.S. universities high and in general

express a very positive opinion on U.S. higher education, whereas U.S. students rate German higher education slightly less positively in those respects.

Both, the different major thrusts regarding study abroad and the different perceptions of the qualities of the host higher education system in fact express differences between the higher education systems in the U.S. and Germany. One has to bear in mind, though, that the study abroad participants surveyed are not representative for all students of their respective countries. The U.S. programmes surveyed are situated at universities which rank fairly high in the institutional hierarchy, and most of the students participating went abroad in the third or second year of their undergraduate study. The German programmes surveyed, on the other hand, by and large seem to be representative for German higher education, and most of the students going to the U.S. were relatively senior: many were enrolled in master and doctoral programmes in the U.S. during their study abroad period. Thus, we assume that the differences in study goals and perceived characteristics between the German and U.S. would have been smaller, if the composition of students were more alike. Yet, the views, experiences and opinions expressed seem to reflect to some extent different characteristics of U.S. and German higher education.

U.S. study abroad programmes put much stronger effort in supporting their students' study abroad period administratively and educationally than German programmes do. As U.S. students rate their academic progress abroad more favorably than German students and are granted recognition to a higher extent upon return, one could be tempted to conclude that the U.S. mode of academic programme is the most suitable one. We note, however, that recognition of study abroad is higher for French and British students whose study abroad programmes are in some respects more similar to the German programmes surveyed than to the U.S. programmes.

Students' exchange turns out to be very valuable as regards knowledge of the host country and reconsiderations of one's home country because of comparative perspectives. We note that opinions of U.S. students regarding German culture and society differ clearly from those of German students regarding U.S. culture and society. U.S. students appreciate cultural life, customs and traditions, media as well as the social structure in Germany more positively than the respective features at home. Conversely, German students view the U.S. less positively in those respects, but appreciate higher education in the U.S. more strongly. As regards the view of the U.S. foreign policy, a most striking change in the course of the study abroad period can be observed: Most German students initially had a relatively negative opinion of U.S. foreign policy, but revised this opinion towards a more positive one.

It seems appropriate to conclude that student exchange between the U.S. and Germany is more or less balanced as far as the goal achievement is con-

cerned. Ironically, one hopes in both countries that study in the host country contributes well to the goals strongly emphasized in the home country. In fact - in part because one chooses and steers experiences abroad in the desired direction - the results seem to correspond to the expectations. As far mutual academic influences are concerned, student exchange between the U.S. and Germany might have a less balanced impact: German students are more likely to be shaped by the academic experiences abroad, whereas U.S. students are more strongly influenced by broader cultural experiences in Germany. This corresponds to the general observation that U.S. higher education has had a strong impact on German higher education since World War II, whereas the reverse transfer is less pronounced.

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9

Student Exchange - A Case Study

by Barbara B. Burn

The survey reported on in this paper was undertaken in order better to understand the dramatic expansion which occurred over the last several years in the student exchange between the University of Massachusetts and the universities of Baden-Wuerttemberg, Germany.

The survey draws heavily on the experience of the five-year, five-country research project, the Study Abroad Evaluation Project (SAEP), for which the author was U.S. coordinator and which is the focus of Ulrich Teichler's paper for our May 2-3 conference. However, unlike the SAEP, the UMass-Baden-Wuerttemberg (hereafter B-W) survey did not have as an aim identifying what, if any, impact study abroad has on students who participate in it. Rather, it sought to find out what kinds of students, German and American, participate in the UMass-B-W exchange, their knowledge of and attitutes towards various aspects of their respective host countries, and why they wish to pursue university studies in them.

Before the survey and its findings are described, some background on the UMass-B-W relationship, its origins, and evolution may be useful. Initiated by the University of Massachusetts with Albert-Ludwigs-Universitaet (Freiburg University) some twenty-seven years ago (UMass then comprised only the one campus at Amherst), in 1983 following the visit to UMass of the Baden-Wuerttemberg Minister for Science and Culture, the exchange relationship was extended to include all nine universities of that state and the then existing three campuses of UMass. It may also soon include the two new campuses of UMass in Lowell and Dartmouth.

Moreover, instead of only a one-way sending of students by UMass to Germany, as of around 1980, the relationship became more reciprocal, involving two-way exchanges of students (exchanges of teaching staff had long been an integral feature of the relationship). But despite the major increase in the number of participating higher education institutions in the exchange, student participation did not experience substantial growth until the second half of the 1980s, rising from twenty or less each way to 30-40 each way in 1987-88. In 1991-92 the number of students exchanged each way is 50-60, representing more than a tripling since a decade ago. This rate of increase makes it especially important for all the universities involved to have a better knowledge of both their own students whom they send abroad and the incoming students whom they host.

The present survey was designed and sent to students in February 1991. Four cohorts of students were included: B-W students studying at UMass and UMass students studying in B-W during 1990-91, and B-W and UMass students applying to study at the partner institutions abroad for 1991-92. Numbers of students in each cohort were 40 to 60, with a rate of response for each of around 60 percent with the exception of the American students at the B-W universities 1990-91. It can be conjectured that the B-W students felt more compelled to respond to the request to fill out the questionnaire than did the American students. Americans tend to treat such requests more casually, having encountered them much more often than have their counterparts abroad. Of the returns a detailed analysis was carried out of twenty-five from B-W and twenty-seven from American students after a preliminary analysis showed these returns to be generally representative.

The information sought fell into four main categories:

1) Demographic and other data: age, parental background, field of specialization, and self-assessment of academic achievement.

2) The students' prior experience abroad (where, what, at what age, and for how long), their interest in current events relating to their home and host countries, and whether the availability of study abroad opportunities was important in their choice of their home institution.

3) Students' levels of knowledge of and attitudes towards various aspects of their host country and the main sources of this knowledge.

4) The main factors motivating the students to study abroad.

1. Demographic Data

Table 1
Highest Level of Education Achieved

	U.S. Students'		German Students'	
	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers
High School Diploma or Abitur	6	9	5	6
8th grade/class secondary school	0	0	10	8
Bachelor's degree, Vordiplom or equival.	9	12	1	5
Master's Diplom or Equivalent	11	5	3	3
Ph.D., doctorate or equivalent	0	0	5	2

Translated into percentages, 42 percent of the fathers, 19 percent of the mothers of U.S. students had a Master's or Ph.D., 32 and 20 percent respectively of the fathers and mothers of the German students. Looked at differently and assuming that the Abitur is comparable to some postsecondary education in the United States, 77 percent of the fathers, 65 percent of the mothers of the American students had some postsecondary education, compared to 56 and 68 percent respectively of the fathers and mothers of the German students.

Given the lack of agreement among education authorities on equivalences between various levels and qualifications in the German and U.S. education systems, the above chart and percentage figures should not be viewed as an effort to equate them, but only to suggest some parameters for comparability. The chief differences in parental education levels are that 1) a substantially higher proportion of the B-W than U.S. students' parents completed nine or less years of schooling, and 2) 42 percent of the American students' fathers completed a postgraduate or comparable degree, compared to 32 percent for the Germans.

1.1 Parent's Occupation

Of the thirteen possible occupations given as options in the survey questionnaire, six were professional level, e.g. managers, the education and health professions, and engineers, six were middle level, e.g. technician, clerical workers, farm laborers, etc., while the thirteen was "other".

The chief differences in parental occupations are the higher proportion of U.S. fathers and more so of mothers in professional level occupations, and of German compared to American mothers who are full-time housewives. The first coincides with the SAEP findings on parental backgrounds, while the latter reflects certain societal traditions in Germany.

Table 2

	German		U.S.	
	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers
Professional Level Occup.	64%	36%	77%	61%
Middle Level and Below	36%	40%	23%	38%
Other		24% Housewife		38% Housewife

1.2 Students' Age and Level

Whereas 73 percent of the German students were twenty-four or older, this was true of less than 20 percent of the U.S. students. However, in contrast to the American students of whom over 80 percent were undergraduates, all of the B-W students (all of whom had completed the Vordiplom or equivalent in Germany) were or expected to be admitted at the graduate level at the University of Massachusetts. In academic achievement on a scale of 1-5 (5 being far above average), 85 percent of the Americans and 76 percent of the Germans rated themselves 4-5.

2. Students' Fields of Specialization

The fields of specialization of the B-W and UMass students differ significantly, with around three fourths of the American students in humanities and social sciences, compared to three fourths of the B-W students in the sciences and mathematics, engineering, and agriculture. The distribution of the B-W students at or applying to UMass reflects not just the specializations of the students but also the higher probability that they can be admitted at UMass in the sciences and engineering because of the relatively lower demand on the part of American students, especially in engineering and mathematics, for graduate study in these fields.

Table 3
Percentage Distribution by Field of Specialization

	B-W students at UMass	UMass Students at B-W
Sciences & Math	46	8
Social Sciences	20	32
Humanities	15	44
Engineering	15	4
Business & Management	0	12
Agriculture	4	0

3. International Experience and Interests

Survey findings affirm that the students who study abroad overwhelmingly are students who have already had significant experience abroad. All but two of the American students had been abroad for a period of at least one month before studying at a B-M university, over three-fourths in Germany. Of the B-W students, 80 percent had previously been abroad one month or more, one-third of them in the United States, - one for two and one-half years at an American university and two for a 4-5 months work experience.

The worldwide increase in international mobility in general is impacting on student exchanges in interesting ways. For example, one of the B-W students

lived until age thirteen in Romania, while one of the students going to B-W on the UMass exchange lived her first eighteen years in Turkey.

Paralleling their international experience is the exchange students' considerable interest in current events, for the American students slightly more as they related to their host than to the home country, but for the Germans about the same for both countries.

For nearly one-third of the German and 46 percent of the American students, the availability of study abroad opportunities affected their choice of where to try to attend university. In view of the many factors affecting students' choice, it is impressive that study abroad opportunities figured this much. This is especially the case for the German students; given the pressure of student numbers in Germany and the right of all Abiturienten to higher education, there has been neither a tradition nor need for universities to "market" themselves, as in the U.S. where colleges offering study abroad opportunities may have a competitive edge in recruiting students.

4. Knowledge of and Attitude Towards Host Country

Students were asked to rate their level of knowledge on nine aspects of their host country (1 = minimal, 5 = extensive), and their attitude towards five aspects or features of it (1 = highly negative, 5 = highly positive). Students also had the option of checking "no opinion" on the form.

One student (German) did not check any items in the attitude section of the questionnaire, but wrote: "There are everywhere likes and dislikes at the same time."

In general the American students rated themselves as less knowledgeable about their host country than did the Germans. Almost no students reported themselves as highly negative about any aspect of their host country. The following chart presents findings on knowledge and attitudes.

Some of the more interesting findings are the following:

- Both German and American students rated themselves as more knowledgeable about the host country's postsecondary education than any other aspect.
- Whereas more than half of B-W students were very knowledgeable about U.S. policies towards Germany and the media in the U.S., only 12 percent were highly positive about them.

Table 4
Percentage of B-W/MA Students Abroad 1990-91 Given High (4/5) Ratings
(on 1-5 scale, for knowledge 5 = extensive, for attitude highly positive)

	Knowledge of Host Country		Attitude Towards Host Country	
Aspects of Country	B-W students	U.S. students	B-W students	U.S. students
Postsec. Education	60	48	36	63
Govmt Policies towards your home country	56	30	12	26
Economic System	52	19	NA*	NA
Geography	52	40	NA	NA
Social Structure	32	48	16	40
Media (TV, film, etc)	52	48	12	48
Sports	16	30	NA	NA
Political System	52	37	NA	NA
Culture	NA	NA	60	85
Customs, Traditions	NA	NA	36	74

- The American students rank German cultural life (art, music, theater, etc.) higher than all other aspects of the country, customs and traditions second, findings which closely follow those of the SAEP.
- The aspect of Germany on which American students are least informed is its economic system, an aspect of the U.S. on which over half of the B-W students consider themselves very knowledgeable.

In order to explore how students' attitudes towards various features of their host country may change from what they were in the home country after a period in the host country, the self-assessments of attitudes on the part of B-W

* NA means no answer as question not included in survey questionnaire.

students applying at UMass in 1990-91 are presented below. It must be admitted that the interest of the former in being accepted at UMass may have affected their responses even though the letter accompanying the questionnaire emphasized that their responses would not be known to committees handling student applications. There is also the obvious problem that one cannot assume that the B-W students applying to study at UMass in 1991-92 would have had the same kinds of responses once at UMass as the B-W students at UMass 1990-91.

Table 5
Percentage of B-W Students with Highly Positive Attitudes Towards Aspects of the U.S.

Aspects	B-W Students Applying to UMass for 1991-92	B-W Students Studying at UMass 1990-91
Culture	58	68
Postsec. Education	50	64
Foreign Policies of U.S.	40	24
Media	36	4
Customs, Traditions	28	25
Social Structures	13	16

It is impressive how much higher B-W students rated American culture and postsecondary education after being in the United States for several months than did students filling out the questionnaire while still in Baden-Wuerttemberg. The obverse can be said about B-W students' rating of U.S. foreign policy and media, ratings dramatically lower after B-W students had been in the U.S. than while still in Germany. A similar comparison was not possible for U.S. students, given the few returns from U.S. students in B-W 1990-91.

5. Factors Affecting Decision to Study Abroad

Probably most relevant in assessing future directions of the UMass-Baden-Wuerttemberg student exchange are survey findings on the factors which are important in students' decisions to study abroad. Of the twelve possible moti-

vating factors, those ranked as very important by the American and B-W students who studied abroad in 1990-91 reveal considerable seriousness of purpose on the part of the students, as the table below documents. It gives the percentage of students giving 5 to the items, using a scale 1-5 with 5 = very important.

Table 6

Motivating factors	% of B-W Students	% of U.S. students
Become acquainted with new subject matter	28	37
Obtain better marks on return to home university	0	15
Acquaintance with different teaching methods	32	26
Desire to travel	8	40
Improve career prospects	60	22
Live in/make acquaintances from other countries	80	80
Use/improve foreign language	16	93
Other friends were going	2	0
Gain another perspective on home country	36	55
Enhance understanding of host country	40	52
Establish ties with family/ ethnic heritage	NA	4
Break from routine	28	19

These findings mesh quite well with SAEP findings. Unimportant motivators for study abroad were: other friends were going, establishing ties with family or ethnic heritage, getting better marks after study abroad, or having a break

from routine. Much more important to the B-W than to the Massachusetts students was to improve their career prospects, probably reflecting the greater professional orientation of the former and their being more advanced in their studies. Much more important to the U.S. than to the B-W students was: desire to travel, enhance understanding of host country, gain another perspective on the home country, and use/improve foreign language. One can attribute the greater importance of these items to American students to their having far fewer opportunities to go abroad compared to the B-W students and the high value they attach to it, especially, as for most, after having been abroad before.

Comments written on the questionnaire by German and American students on their reasons for wish to study at the sister institutions abroad provide further insights into their motivation. Below is a cross section of these comments.

Comments by Baden-Wuerttemberg Students

It is important in our world to know about the U.S.A.
The U.S.A. is one of the leading countries in physics research.
To get o know the U.S.A., its people, politics, culture, geography.
Doing research.
I chose the U.S.A. because it is the best country to study advanced computer science.
Teaching methods, living in America.
To prepare myself for a one-year internship (psychology major).
The possibility to get practical experience doing research in a laboratory.
Better education and opportunities in the U.S.A. in my field (international relations), studying in a more personal evironment away from Germany "mass universities".

Comments by Massachusetts Students

I want to work in Germany some time. I admire German work ethic.
To enhance my understanding of myself, gain a new perspective on the world.
To improve my spoken German and be more qualified for a career in business or diplomacy.
I plan a career in or involving Germany.
My goal is to work internationally; when I am ready for the job market, Germany will be the stronger power, economically and politically.

With the developments with German unification, the formation and furthering of the EC, it will be essential to strengthen my language skills so as to advance my career possibilities.

6. Conclusion

The recent survey of the student exchange between the University of Massachusetts and the nine universities of Baden-Wuerttemberg, limited in scope as it was and with some methodological limitations as well, suggests that the reasons for the major increase in participating students are in many cases similar for both the German and American students and are likely to bring a continuing rate of increase in the future unless other factors intervene.

- It apparently is increasingly important to German and American students to increase their proficiency in English and German respectively.
- Crucial to the participation of B-W and UMass students in the exchange is the continued availability to them of the same or a higher level of financial support as they receive at their home institutions.

On top of the above kinds of reasons are developments in the United States, Germany, and worldwide which apparently are prompting more interest in study abroad by students of each country in the other.

- With the growth in enrollments and resultant overcrowding at the German universities in the last decade and more, and the shifting of some research, especially in "big science", to institutes outside the universities, it is more attractive to German students in the sciences to study at a U.S. university where they can do "hands-on" research and have access to the latest equipment.
- The growing movement in the United States to "internationalize" higher education and the important contribution to international education of study abroad are generating more support for both, including at the University of Massachusetts for UMass students to study at the B-W (and other foreign) universities.
- The spectacular growth and support for the intra-European Community educational scheme known as ERASMUS (Expanded Regional Action for the Mobility of University Students), which aims at ensuring that by 1992 ten percent of all postsecondary students in the EC study abroad in another EC country, has generated much more support for study abroad among EC universities, including the universities of Baden-Wuerttemberg. ERASMUS also encourages the EC universities to recognize studies their students complete elsewhere towards the home institution's degree or other qualification, further encouraging study abroad.

- The combination of German unification and "Europe 1992" has caused numbers of American students to expect Europe to play an increasingly important role in the world's future and for the new unified Germany to have a major influence in shaping that role, thus stimulating American students to seek fluency in German and acquaintance with Germany.
- With growing international interdependence, more young people in the United States and Germany are interested in careers that will have an international dimension or content. They see study abroad as an important way to prepare themselves for this, as the responses of many B-W and Massachusetts students to the survey discussed in this paper document.

10

Commentaries and Discussion

I. Relations between German and American Higher Education: Past and Present

Commentary

Meyersohn. Goldschmidt reminds us of the period in the 19th and early 20th century, the golden years of the German university, which American scholars attended and brought back the brightest ideas that had been developed. They were exposed to radically different ideas of how higher education should be organized, with the seminar method of instruction and with great importance attached to research. The flow shifted, as Goldschmidt notes, when German refugee scholars came to America and became personal agents in transmitting that world of scholarship. With the waning of direct influence, the migration itself has become an object of study. There is even a Society for Exile Studies.

Initially, exchange programs were shaky, for the idea was considered an affront to the dignity of German universities (1905). World War II, Goldschmidt states, profoundly changed the relationship between Germany and the United States in that the overwhelming majority of German professors signed the statement that they were at one with the German Army that was at one with the German talk. Their rejection of Western style democracy did not at first act as a deterrent to international exchanges. They declined only when the exchange programs themselves became throughly politicized and run directly by the Nazis.

The post-World War II period saw American ideas take hold in Germany to an unprecedented degree. Did they in fact replace indigenous ones? In my own study of the reconstruction of sociology in post-war Germany (1982), I

found the general consensus of my German informants to be that despite strong influences from abroad, the form and shape of sociology after the war was characteristically German.

The role of the "remigrants" such as Helmut Plessner, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer was important but the rebuilding of sociology was more the work of the younger generation whose members were sent (or went on their own) to the West, especially the United States. This contact brought sociological orientation back to Germany. The emergence of empirical sociology, particularly the *methods* of research could be clearly tied to (1) research units of the U.S. Army which emphasized public opinion research and questionnaire techniques (2) empirical methods taught by American scholars on sabbatical in Germany and (3) the many young German academics who in their study in America learned how "modern" sociology was done.

While interaction in higher education takes a number of different forms, as Goldschmidt clearly shows, the way in which it has been placed out in Sociology is probably the rule, not the exception.

Kuechler (Discussant) declared that Greenberg refers to the refugee scholars as if they were one homogeneous group of people and adheres to social science and philosophy, ignoring comparison between German and American scholars in the natural sciences. He went on to say that the paper slights the influence of Paul Lazarsfeld on empirical science, for the European roots of what has been defined as empirical science are significant. They had been American and then re-imported by Germany.

The 1950-1960 split in German sociology between the philosophically and empirically oriented - between Cologne and Frankfurt - was not just the result of input from America but rather of reciprocal influence. Thus, Greenberg's paper may be too sweeping in generalizations about the refugees.

Herz raised the question of why was sociology the most significant discipline for refugee scholars. One must note that Coser and other sociologists emphasized the quality not so much of the refugee scholars as that of their students. Another point of interest is that in the early period refugee Jewish scholars were welcomed at traditionally Black universities.

While chairs for political science in Germany were established under the influence of Americans and especially of returning refugee scholars, French and British scholars also had an impact on German social science. Finally, with respect to Greenberg's paper one must moreover take into account age differences, diverse predilections and different degrees of Europeanness among the refugees.

Gellert articulated several questions. Were those who went back not so well received? Was the kind of theorizing going on e.g. Marxist theorizing, more

affected than traditional theorizing? Were political activities affected by the returnees?

Goldschmidt remarked that the Laender were not forthright about what they had lost and were hesitant to attract people to come back although they were not particularly hostile. Furthermore, refugees did not want to risk losing their U.S. positions. And the would-be colleagues of the newly returned would have included a considerable number of fellow-travelers of Nazis. About ten per cent of the refugees, often leftists or social democrats of the 300 or so who left Germany returned.

II. Need for Trans-Atlantic Cooperation: Germany and U.S.A.

Commentary

Trefousse. I agree with El-Khawas' call for more exchanges. My personal experience confirms that much has been accomplished in exchanges between Germany and America, especially in the excellent American Studies departments established in such universities as Cologne, Hamburg, Berlin, Heidelberg and Bochum.

As for the differences between American and German universities in ways of doing things, I note such factors in U.S. as an emphasis on localism rooted in our Federal System, our individualism, and the Constitution. In addition, American distrust of government, both federal and local, is also important in explaining varying developments. These differences are valuable; it is not necessary to do everything in the same fashion. We learn from the Germans as they learn from us.

El-Khawas' stress on the German apprentice system and her emphasis on continuing education are justified. As for differences between rectors and presidents, I do not think they mean very much as much depends on the personalities of the individual directors, rectors and presidents. Moreover, I am not so sure that any general point can be made about differences in loyalty to one institution. But the Germans might learn from our experience with the increased retirement age of a great number of professors, a process that has already begun here but not in Europe.

Teichler. Cooperation between ERASMUS and American universities would not work since ERASMUS in practice deals only with the first degree.

People are familiar with ERASMUS but not with other more expensive E.C. programs such as engineering. It is attractive and runs on its label whereas the engineering program has no home and needs one to become well-known. ERASMUS has a very low cost per student und thus has many

students while engineering/science has a heavy cost per student. Using such a name as EINSTEIN as acronym would be a great boost for such programs.

An evaluation study showed that one-fourth did not accept the award, and 45 percent of recipients said it was a mistake to accept the award and half of these asserted they would rather go to U.S. than to Europe. The feeling was prevalent that the money awards were given in weak areas in Europe to bolster certain departments and universities.

The consortium for European only higher education researchers was justified because some issues of European integration were not relevant to America or internationally and because a two-way European/U.S. higher education researcher cooperation would not be fruitful, given the enormous scope of such in U.S. and the marginality of such in Europe. The approaches also are different: institutional/student/technical for U.S. and general for Europe. For higher education research Europe is a developing entity needing its own regional issues and activities.

In Europe e.g. a German applicant for Finland must explain his own national system of education, thus Europe is often more heterogeneous than U.S.

Gellert. Even within the one country's federal system of education, explanation of one's own university or a state system may be necessary.

Goldschmidt. On equivalence - Manchester, Mannheim, and a French university can come to an agreement on curriculum - European mutual understanding, if not exactly equivalent.

Orzack. For economic reasons the trend in American universities is to have instruction given by part-time adjunct faculty and graduate assistants, affecting commitment to institution etc. What is going on in Europe with respect to this?

Goldschmidt. German universities have part-time instructors, many of those may be full-time researchers at institutes who teach at or have a part-time relation to a university. In the U.S. after four years, the student goes on to graduate or professional school. In Germany the first degree for professional qualification of some kind takes five to seven years and thus the U.S. student may leave the university at 22 or 23 whereas in Germany more likely at 26 or 27.

El-Khawas. But American students are more and more taking six or seven years to complete a four year course.

Kuechler. There may be different levels of goals of cooperation. Germany e.g. lacks post-graduate studies (unlike U.S.); there is not a developed post-doctoral system. The German Ph.D. is not supervised or tied into courses as in U.S. University training is not immediately related to jobs. International exchange may be useful to learn different cultures and understanding but not necessarily for training (as with France or Germany). The conference has not

talked about language problems in exchange - Germans may know English but not many Americans know German.

Goldschmidt. There are, however, 4,000 Americans in Germany and 5,000 Germans in America; one must look at these as per-centages of the total student population in both countries. How many of these are basically in German and American Studies?

El-Khawas. Is there a selection of cases, different intensities of exchange? Should we not exclude cases where one side does not believe strongly in the exchange (training)? Should the study be confined to broad policy issues or a dialogue on specifics and details? Life-choices for American university presidents are different from those of Europeans since there will likely be a series of presidencies for Americans over a career, thus creating a class of administrators.

Greenberg. How do we train our students? Corporate funding demands allegiance. But there is a liberal arts education outside the corporate structure. It is wrong to think of university education as simply pre-professional and not liberal arts. It is difficult to obtain money for a liberal arts college, but at the end of a liberal arts education, one may become a corporate intern. Such internship should not mean control of liberal arts education.

Gellert. Continuing education in contrast to U.S. hardly exists in German post-secondary education either in universities or *Fachhochschulen*.

Knapp. I found all kinds of German Rectorates - some Rectors were sad about their short terms. There are structural differences between rectors and presidents. American universities have a mixture of the corporate and collegial leadership. The German situation was more parallel to the American than I expected and there are few behavioral differences.

Gellert. While in the immediate past in Germany rectors were becoming like presidents, currently the rectorate system is being reintroduced.

Goldschmidt. American universities have a professional structure of their own for presidents who nevertheless understand the academic profession. In Germany, leadership is often given to lawyers coming to administration from outside academia; and not understanding the academic profession, and thus giving too much control to the Ministries because of the plethora of lawyer leadership.

The integration of *Fachhochschulen* with universities has failed except perhaps for Kassel and North-Rhine-Westphalia. The *Fachhochschulen* will go the way of the Polytechnics in England. The Diploma of the one is becoming equal to that of the other (another type of transfer). There are different teaching loads - 8 hours for university; 18 hours for *Fachhochschulen*. This will change. Impact from the states occurs in Germany with respect to teaching and a closer look at students. Ranking of institutions is different in Germany

because all are supposedly on equal terms with entrance based on the *Abitur* and uniform or similar testing - ranking exists perhaps among institutes or departments within university. Students may prefer an institution because a lesser known scholar may have more time for them. Further education in Germany has been somewhat influenced by U.S.

Knapp. The issues in Germany are similar to those in the U.S.A. with perhaps the exception that productivity/efficiency of faculty and general assessment in U.S. seem to be missing in the German debate.

Gellert. Performance indicators in Germany are mainly for research and are very limited for teaching assessment.

Kuechler. Students stay in their own region in attending universities in contrast to the very mobile German student of yore. The *Laender* are in charge. The euphoria of the early 70's has ebbed. With widened admissions came the knowledge that the once guaranteed civil servant job for graduates is no longer easily available. *Fachhochschulen* is mainly a name change from *Fachschulen*, not really a new curricular program.

Stassen. Teichler is right about not much influence by U.S. on Germany but still Germans look to U.S. as model for optimistic eclecticism. Germans are politically influenced by U.S.; however they are not interested in cultural borrowing - political but not cultural influence. "Turf" mentality exists in Germany - everything must be juridifical, legalized. Germany has not culturally accepted competition as has the U.S.

Since in Germany all professors are civil servants, they are thought to be equal i.e. no differences in the new democracy. Germany is now more influenced by E.C. countries than by U.S. When Germany realizes its mistake in having West German completely dominate East German universities, perhaps large scale reform influenced by U.S. may occur.

Teichler. Does small impact with dropping of insistence on similarity and homogeneity mean more internal satisfaction?

Gellert. Low degree of autonomy and a high degree of academic freedom characterize German higher education. But high degree of autonomy accompanied by low degree of academic freedom did not prevent the destruction of tenure by the British government.

The trend in Germany as in the U.S. is to have the funding basis for research outside the university. The *Fachhochschulen* are becoming like universities as the binary lines break down. The Polytechnics in Great Britain are more like universities than like *Fachhochschulen*. Indeed many Polytechnics will officially become universities with one funding body located in Bristol. There are stricter provisions in Germany for continued separation. Neither German nor American students choose a university for its research

quality. The absolutist mentality in German higher education has changed since the war; perhaps the legal mentality has also changed.

III. Impact of United States Higher education on German Higher Education Reforms and Innovation Debates

Commentary

Teichler. Gellert correctly shows that reform in Germany has been minor. The inertia of the system is demonstrated by the problem of duration of studies. The list of issues in German higher education in which reference is made to U.S. includes admission procedures. In the 70's the question was whether to expand to 50 percent inclusion of age cohort or to 15 percent. Shall there be different types of institutions? The introduction of the *Fachhochschulen* ensued. Should institutions of the one type be alike? This was a different debate from that in the U.S.

Should there be different levels, degrees, graduate schools? Should funding of general research be a part of a general university budget or should a university serve mainly for teaching with a research budget being an add-on? Should the university president be the head of a self-ruling institution or somewhere between academia and government supervision? Should management within an institution become more important and should more formal evaluation procedures be developed?

This is an incomplete list but in all of these topics the U.S. model can be cited. But nowhere is cultural borrowing discussed; only the most modern solution is sought. The Swedish model is considered in Germany because of cultural similarities and interesting solutions. But the U.S. model is not studied for similarities but only for the most contemporary of solutions. When reforms were made in Germany, despite constant reference, and the feeling that a solution must be sought in the U.S., there were very few elements of the U.S. model in the change. What is the reason? The answer that no reform took place is probably not correct.

Decision-making within the universities altered dramatically and structures changed substantially, but not because of the U.S. model.

Where there other national models more convincing for the Germans? Unlikely, even though there were extended discussions of Sweden and Japan. Are there other aims in Germany not emphasized in U.S.A.? In some respects, but in others not.

An idiosyncratic view is that there are modern systems we have to follow but basically once a historical decision has been made on a national character-

istic, everything goes back to this unless a dramatic incident occurs like the appearance of Humboldt or the American occupation of Japan.

Germany now has something of American admission tests, an element of the American university president, something of Graduate Schools, a smattering of formal evaluation, but it cannot be said that they have changed the character of German higher education dramatically. But there have been substantial changes like the introduction of the *Fachhochschule*, of changes of decision-making processes in universities which canot be explained by historical tradition.

It is possible to have a range of options, a mix of adaptations coming from different countries. We gave up the view that we were forced to change by the trend of modernization or by national traditions, thereby arriving at the condition of taking a bit here, a bit there - a cafeteria add-on with the basic structure continuing to be preserved. These are general conclusions to the points Gellert raised.

I see somewhat differently what the case of diversification in the U.S. means and how this is explained by strong emphasis on homogeneity in Germany. Gellert heavily emphasized that competition in the U.S. was the most important factor in explaining the diversified model. I am not sure about this. In Japan one could argue the higher the support for the private sector, the smaller the competition as compared to the U.S. model. However, we think of Japan as having the hierarchical model. The specific thing in the U.S. is that the diversified system means a mix of the hierarchy and uniqueness of individual institutions and the individual mission of a university, which cannot be put in a hierarchy. In Europe when someone wanted to introduce ranking or more emphasis on hierarchies, those who looked for status had no further interest than in seeing how high they were on the scale. In the U.S. universities not only look to rank but emphasize their specificities.

It has been asserted that one can not understand American higher education until one knows the religious system in the U.S.A. In every small town, there may be ten churches among which an outsider will not find differences, but everybody in the church believes his is completely different from his neighbor's church. There are the strains of believing that a small difference means a lot. We do not find this to such an extent in other societies. This seems to me a more striking element of diversification in the U.S. than competition or ranking.

Teichler. The underlying thrust is Wasser's warning to the partners on the other side of the Atlantic that a crisis in Germany does not mean everything in the U.S. is working well. There are similar modes of debate going on in the U.S. about a crisis in secondary education and work-bound youth force. Wasser cautions about exaggeration in Germany and elsewhere with regard to a

self-praising attitude. In German education there is a strange mix of self-righteousness and self-accusation, with extreme examples in both directions.

Even moderate newspapers will write that in Germany students get a first degree at age 28 where in U.S. Bachelor's is obtained at 22, Master's at 25 and doctorate at 28. Yet my up-to-date statistics for U.S.A. shows average age for Bachelor's was 26/27, Master's 30/31 and doctorate 35.

In international comparisons one does not have data on problems that are not seen as problems. When one is interested, one often cannot find comparable data. When data are in hand, as Wasser states, more moderate statements about problems and differences ensue. For example, when the Germans talk about the *Fachhochschule*, it turns out that information is not easily accessible. I can only confirm Wasser's point. No effort with exception of Gellert and myself has been made to collect all information available on *Fachhochschulen*.

In his O.E.C.D. paper Gellert emphasized what is available in statistics and policy reports. I emphasized the more available data on students and graduates and less on policy. We both looked at the matter comparatively with information from other countries. International comparison was important in order to transcend the internal German debate. Nowhere is a teacher required to have so much research experience as in a *Fachhochschule* in Germany. Nowhere else does a student after 16 years of education have so little opportunity of upward promotion as in Germany.

The academic staff is more academically oriented and interested than in any other comparable higher education system whereas the students have the least chance of going in the system.

I am not surprised that Gellert takes a moderate stand and Wasser affirms Gellert's report that there are no confirming data to show that the *Fachhochschule* graduates have any advantage on the labor market over university graduates in the same field.

In an area where there are thought to be problems, there is little clarification of the problem in general of restructuring. Somehow in the American degate over community colleges, observers seemed to say that community colleges work well despite concern over the low level of post-secondary education obtained in them - an inconsistency foreigners find difficult to understand.

In Europe the debate is between universities and government, not a debate in the triangle of university, state and society as in the U.S. Wasser has pointed out in other publications that one misunderstands the relation between university and government if one does not also talk about the relation between university and society. It is probably fair to say that government in Germany serves both a supervisory function and social control. In U.S. a different pattern, in the foreign view, takes place in which the president is more the "smiling face" and social control takes on many responsibilities which are

incorporated in the government. There may be no difference at all in the degree of academic freedom. It is still an open question, as Wasser has emphasized in other contexts. While we have to pay attention to his warning, we are still in this conference at a stage of early generalization.

IV. Study Abroad - The United States-German Exchange

Commentary

Stassen. Exchange research is frequently undertaken to justify programs and to establish convincing goals for government or other funding agencies. Is the program worth continuing? To answer, one must study whether the goals were achieved, look at the impact, the outcome and formulate response in such a way as to indicate whether the goals were achieved. Usually in an American university a development officer is trained to do this. But a certain rhetoric and prose has resulted which is self-serving and not interesting. In general this means continuing what has been done.

A second point is that impact studies such as this one look for areas where impact is expected, then the impact is measured through the methodology that has been developed. However the expectations of the officials may differ from those of the students. Then in the next cycle a new set of goals are written to be brought more in line with the alleged goals of the students.

Third, research on exchange is usually not funded. The "state-of-the-art" investigation in such disciplines as psychology or sociology or political science is not interested in study abroad or in exchange programs but rather in scientific paradigms. It is better, as Teichler points out, to look at organized rather than "wild cat" mobility. The initial 1978-79 program of DAAD was interested in having as many German students as possible abroad, even though officials were aware that not many foreign students would go to Germany - "delayed reciprocity". Knowing symmetrical reciprocity was unlikely, the DAAD accepted students from different departments and diverse layers of education. This assymetry was calculated and accepted, as Teichler asserts. The goal of eventual curricular integration remained.

The ERASMUS program of the European Community also attempts exchange to help make a United Europe become a reality. It, however, developed differently so that a student could get two degrees - one from the university at home and the other from a university in the exchange program. Some exchange programs were eventually trilaterial e.g. Leeds, Lyon, and Osnabrück, with a different motivation to create the educational glue for

unified Europe by maintaining the educational specificity and diversity of the individual system.

Constant contact between faculty and students and communication and transfer of knowledge become possible. Cultural enrichment is a major motivation, but the students indicated that only some of its lofty goals had been achieved.

Assessment of student opinion played an important role in this study. Length of stay abroad is a factor, for a relatively short period of time abroad may simply reinforce prejudices. What I found discouraging in the study was the shattering of the belief that a longer stay would do away with prejudice. Also, I thought that students who had been abroad would be much more critical of their own country and society when they come back, the hope, now dashed, was that a look at one's country from a lens of another country would have sharpened, not diminished faculties.

Orzack. How valid are the self-assessments of participants? It must be remembered that survey self-assessments must themselves be assessed. We need to know how the elements of the exchange experience are described in the participants' conversations with peers, family, friends, and teachers.

What is the level of *intensity* of the reactions and appraisals reported in the data provided to us? Are these shallow judgments or deeply held beliefs?

Will the participants' review continue through a long *time* span or will they largely dissipate within a fairly short period of time? Other data acquisitions would be the best key to critical moments in students' lives. These could include return to their home institution, completion of current academic programs, onset of further education, and beginning a year or two after the start of occupational and professional careers.

How different down the road are the participants' careers compared with those of *matched* non-participants? Which elements of careers and personal orientation differ for these two groups?

Will the incremental costs of student exchange programs yield significant and positive changes in outlook, value, actions, skills and career choices?

Can it be taken for granted that critical outlooks, whether negative or positive toward one's own country, will change through participation in student exchange programs?

The answers to these questions may come from the approach inherent in a long term panel method with repeated observations which bring better understanding of the effects of these programs. Given widely recognized deficits in foreign language competency characteristic of U.S. students, the emphasis placed on language learning and cultural enrichment in U.S. study abroad programs is, as Teichler remarks, not surprising. Teichler goes on to note the importance assigned to academic and professional objectives by the European

Community, the U.S. stress on cultural enrichment and finally the German and Swedish emphasis on academic theories, methods and factual knowledge. The comparative evaluation of U.S., German, European Community, and Swedish programs becomes difficult, with such differences in thrust.

Teichler. Our study was helped by the diversity of goals and the relativization of respective goals; yet they were actually much more alike than the promotional literature indicated. The DAAD emphasized recognition but not curricular integration. Our group, consisting of researchers and practitioners, believed both are necessary to each other - recognition comes with curricular integration. The study was important as a design for elucidating impact. The more highly organized programs were not necessarily the best.

Kuechler. There are possible problems in methodology in the study. Five point scales are preliminary assessments. The study needs a distinct control group, but it is obvious that exchange programs are useful.

Gellert. Small differences and a 1-5 scale can be important if statistically valid. A more positive view of one's own country does not mean lessening of critical faculties.

Teichler. The international dimension is worthwhile for future jobs and coping with existence in one's own country. I suggest degree/diploma supplements and a two page, thirty items document for exchange work assessment. We used split groups with different perspectives. We assumed study abroad programs were worthwhile. The aggregate argument is a policy argument. Research covered twenty issues but not in depth e.g. one on anxiety.

Burn. American students abroad were less well-off than those who stayed home; thus finance was not such an important factor. Students were questioned after the rosy glow of experience abroad. More research is needed on the topic and on the impact. Federal agencies do not help financially on these studies even though the expenditure would be minor.

Stassen. Five per cent should be set aside for research and evaluation. The goals of DAAD were academic achievement and transfer of knowledge. But the uneven results perhaps call for change of paradigms.

Kuechler. The major return of exchange is the cultural experience, not of the touristic kind.

Gellert. Differences can be significant if statistically supported. There is an increase in critical capacities if only to decrease prejudices in their own countries and the students consequently take a more sober approach to their own country.

Goldschmidt. Students are into an academic sphere where they are similar, one to the other, and thus are self-selected. German students to U.S. jump into the American way of life. They come home (age 19-26) and find it difficult to reintegrate into the often provincial life back in Germany.

Teichler. Exchange students sometimes shifted to a more international feature of their discipline. There is an aspect of tourism in that the impact is not so strong as was expected after one year. There are more problems of recognition of degrees abroad. A diploma as a supplement has been suggested for the exchange transcript. The assumption of the report was that study abroad was worthwhile.

Burn. Financial aid for exchange students included travel. American students going abroad were financially better off than those who stayed home. When should the questionnaire for study abroad be administered? - a short or long time after the experience. Time is needed for students to digest their experience.

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Contributors

Barbara Burn Associate Provost, International Programs, University of Massachusetts at Amherst

Elaine El-Khawas Vice-President for Policy Analysis and Research, American Council of Education

Claudius Gellert Director of Research, European University Institute, Florence

Dietrich Goldschmidt Honorary Professor of Sociology, Free University of Berlin; formerly Director, Max Planck Institute for Education and Social Policy

Karen Greenberg Professor of History, Director of International Programs, Bard College

John Herz Professor Emeritus of Political Science, City College, Graduate School, City University of New York

David Knapp President Emeritus, Ralph Waldo Emerson Professor, University of Massachusetts

Manfred Kuechler Professor of Sociology, Hunter College, Graduate School, City University of New York

Rolf Meyersohn Professor of Sociology, Lehman College, Graduate School (Acting Executive Officer) City University of New York

Joseph Murphy University Professor of Political Science, Graduate School, former Chancellor City University of New York

Louis Orzack Professor of Sociology, Rutgers University

Manfred Stassen Institute for Contemporary German Studies, Johns Hopkins University

Ulrich Teichler Professor of Applied Sociology, Center for Research on Higher Education and Work, Comprehensive University of Kassel; Professor of Education and Social Policy Northwestern University

Hans Trefousse Distinguished Professor of History, Brooklyn College, Graduate School, City University of New York

Henry Wasser Professor Emeritus of Literature and Sociology, College of Staten Island, Graduate School; Director Center for European Studies, City University of New York

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Links between higher education in Germany and the United States developed in many different ways. The Humboldtian University had a substantial impact on the development of the U.S. research university. Many scholars threatened by the Nazi regime went to the United States. American higher education had a tremendous impact on higher education policies in the Federal Republic of Germany. Cross-Atlantic staff and student mobility might become even more important in the near future. These issues were adressed at the conference „German and American Universities – Mutual Influences in Past and Present" held in 1991 at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Experts on both sides of the Atlantic emphasized that detailed analysis of these developments might help both mutual understanding and improved cooperation.

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